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The  
Worcester Historical Society  
Publications

New Series  
Vol. II, No. I

April, 1936

Published by  
The Worcester Historical Society  
Worcester, Massachusetts



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## APPRENTICESHIP IN MASSACHUSETTS, ITS EARLY IMPORTANCE AND LATER NEGLECT

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Allan W. Forbes, March 14, 1935

"The youth who was intended for the law, was introduced by his father . . . to the most eminent lawyer of the time, whom he henceforth attended on all occasions; he listened with attention to his patron's pleadings in the courts of justice, and his speeches before the people; he heard him in the warmth of argument; he noted his sudden replies; and thus, in the field of battle, if I may so express myself, he learned the first rudiments of rhetorical warfare. . . . The advantages of this method are obvious: the young candidate . . . studied in the open day, amidst the heat of conflict, where nothing weak or idle could be said with impunity; where everything absurd was instantly rebuked by the judge, exposed to ridicule by the adversary, and condemned by the whole body of advocates. . . . Under such a schooling, the youth of whom we are speaking, a disciple of all the lawyers; . . . daily conversant with the laws of his country; familiar with the faces of the judges, and the aspect of a full audience; and well acquainted with the popular taste—might be called upon to conduct a prosecution or a defense, and was able to cope, single handed, with the difficulties of his task. . . .

"On the other hand, our modern youth . . . are sent to certain schools, where it is hard to determine whether the place, the company, or the method of instruction is most likely to infect the minds of young people, and produce a wrong turn of thought. There can be nothing to inspire respect in a place where all who enter it are of the same low degree of understanding; nor any advantage to be received from their fellow students, where a parcel of boys and raw youths of unripe judgments harangue before each other, without the least fear or danger of criticism."

These sentences were written by Tacitus about 1860 years ago, but it is not my purpose to discuss education in ancient Rome. I merely want to point out that the present changes are nothing new. We can go back 2000 years and find educational discussions that are up to date.

The Puritans arrived in Massachusetts with well-developed

educational traditions. Apprenticeship was the recognized form of education for most occupations. Schools were recognized as the proper education for the professions of teaching and the ministry. So among the early acts of the colonists was the establishment of a system of vocational schools, Harvard College and the Boston Latin School. The right to call Harvard in its early days a vocational school has been challenged, and Prof. Samuel E. Morison, in his book, *The Founding of Harvard College*, quotes an object in the Harvard Charter of 1850, "The advancement and education of youth in all manner of good literature Artes and Sciences," which would indicate that the objective was similar to that of the liberal arts colleges of today. But in *New England's First Fruits* we read that the graduate was given the power "to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts," which seems to have been the completion of the preparation for the teaching profession. Other quotations refer to the preparation for the ministry. While the objective was the advancement of learning in the community as a whole, it seems to me clear that the means was primarily through training for these two professions, and therefore that Harvard should be classed correctly as a vocational school.

In addition to these vocational schools, other schools were established which were more truly the ancestors of the present public schools, the schools for teaching the three R's to children preparing for all other occupations. The following quotation from the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin shows clearly that the double school system was the recognized practice of his day:

"I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. . . . But my father, in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterward able to obtain, altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic."

It is clear from this that preparation for the ministry started with young boys in Franklin's day, and that the schools designed to prepare for the ministry were entirely independent from those for ordinary boys.

The fact that the Puritans did not found any agricultural, medi-



cal, law or technical schools does not indicate any lack of interest in those subjects. It shows that they did not recognize the school as the proper kind of education for those professions. Apprenticeship was recognized as the proper kind, and it does not appear to have been challenged. Apprenticeship was the accepted education, but the word education was not so generally applied to it. The early writers were inclined to limit the word education to certain subjects of study. Latin and Greek were to them education while the study of agriculture or medicine was not.

On the other hand, I do not find any of the faulty modern usage that would limit the word education to studies performed in school. Even in 1835 the word education did not imply a school, as is shown by the following quotation: "It would, therefore, be in every respect impolitic and cruel to disgust those with public schools who have no other resource for the education of their families." This is from a book, *Practical Education*, written by Miss Maria Edgeworth of England, but with an American edition published in New York. By public school, she had in mind what we would call the superior private school, but she quite plainly showed the point of view that all schools were merely substitutes for better education, for those unable to afford the best.

I suspect, though I cannot prove, that this same point of view was shown by the Puritans in founding the early public schools. There were certain essentials that busy parents could not take the time to teach, such as reading and writing. They must therefore hire a schoolmaster to teach these subjects, while they themselves gave their children the more important elements in their education, such as the care of animals or the use of firearms.

This book by Miss Edgeworth was evidently written for the aristocracy. The presence of servants in the household was generally assumed. But it was only for that part of the aristocracy who were willing to give the time and study to master the principles of education, and who were willing to do the major part of the work of education themselves. Printed at a time when the population of the United States was approximately that of the present New York State, and the wealth far less, it is rather a surprise that the publisher should have expected a large enough sale to warrant an American edition. I do not believe that a publisher would consider a book with a similar appeal today. This is merely one bit of evi-

dence to support the view that interest in education, at least among the upper part of the population, was far greater one hundred years ago than it is today. We have developed mass production methods of education, but have lost the scientific spirit and the personal interest that characterized education in the earlier days. In the books written before 1835, I find none of the glorification of education as a magician's wand, which has taken such a prominent place in the writings of today. Instead there was more careful analysis of cause and effect.

Such a logical habit of thinking naturally selected apprenticeship as the normal method of learning an occupation. Find a skilled man of the kind that you want your son to be, and have this skilled man train your son to be a master like himself. There is a simple common sense about this procedure that appeals to a logical mind. The nature of this apprenticeship can be best shown by a sample indenture which I have copied from the *History of Chelmsford*, page 462.

“Chelmsford, Feb. 3rd, 1777.

Minits of the proposols that Doctr. Marshall made to me Before I Came to Study physick with him.

The payment yt. the Doctr. Sade he wold take is 13 Bushels of Grain for Each Year and as much meet as we Shall Agree for: for he Sath he has forgot how much meet the Rule is to Support a man a year, and he Sath that I may Labor in tending the Cattle and other Labor a Nuf to pay him for Cucking my Board and washing and other Necesseries that are not above mentioned. and I am to Live With the Doctr. two years to Larne the art of physick & Surgerey and ye. Doctr. promeses he will Instruct me in Art of physick & Surgerey as far as he is Capable of Giving instructions & I of Receaving the same, and he promeses me he will Give me all his Receipts on physick and Surgerey of all Kinds, Except one on Cancors, and he Said he wold Give that if I was of Considerable Sarvice to him in his practice, and the Doctr. promest me he wold not Charg me Nothing for Larning me ondy what I Culd Do in his practice that is If I was Benifishal to him in his practice and the Doctr. promest me that if I was helpfull to him in the Smallpox that he wold alow me for that practice Exclusive of the other practice, and he promest me that he wold Favor me as much as he Culd and let me have all

the priveledge that he Culd not to Ingor him, and I promest the Doctr. I wold Labor for him Sufisiantly anuf to pay him for my Cucking washing and other Necessereys that are not above mentioned and if I Neglect to Labor for him anuf to pay him for Such Necesereys: as are not named above I must pay him in money orther way what I Shall Neglect to pay in Labor and if I Labor for the Doctr. more than anuf to pay him for my Cucking and washing & other Neceserey, he is to pay me for it.

JOHN BETTEYS."

This plan of apprenticeship has been declining for the last hundred years, but not to as great an extent as is generally supposed. In medicine the relic remains in our hospitals under the name of internes. As late as 1925 there were 4,325 apprentices in the building trades of New York City alone, according to a statement of the United States Chamber of Commerce. In most industries apprenticeship has become less formal, so that it is often difficult to tell whether a given boy is really an apprentice or a helper. But one state, Wisconsin, requires that every boy under 18 working in certain industries must be apprenticed by formal contract. Probably the truest example of apprenticeship today occurs when fathers take their sons into their own businesses, but this is seldom done with a formal contract. The following is an example of apprenticeship by a Worcester company that still uses the formal indenture, very nearly in the old colonial form.

"This agreement is made in triplicate this seventh day of September 1934, between the Norton Company doing business in Worcester, Massachusetts, hereinafter known as the Employer and Richard H. Kittredge of Worcester, Massachusetts, hereinafter known as the Apprentice, and Richard Kittredge of Worcester, Massachusetts, hereinafter known as the Guardian, whose relation to the apprentice is that of father.

"For the purpose of acquiring the Art or Trade of Machinist, said Richard H. Kittredge hereby becomes an Apprentice to the said Employer and said Employer hereby accepts him subject to the terms and Rules and Regulations herein stated, and such other rules and regulations as may be at the time of the signing of the Agreement or thereafter in effect.

"1. The Apprentice and his Guardian hereby promise that the Apprentice shall conform to and abide by all provisions of the Agreement, and shall faithfully serve his Employer during the full period of time named in this Agreement.

"2. The Apprentice and his Guardian agree that the Apprentice shall do all in his power to learn said art or trade during the period of this apprenticeship. They also agree that apprentices shall attend classes after regular scheduled working hours, for which work the scale of pay herein set forth does not apply. Apprentices shall do a reasonable amount of home work as required by the instructors.

"3. It is further agreed by the Apprentice and his Guardian, that the Employer shall have the right to discharge the Apprentice for inability to do the work or acquire the knowledge necessary for graduation, infraction of Rules and Regulations governing Apprentices and to rearrange his working hours should the state of business warrant it.

"4. The practical training will consist of a specific training in some shop department where the Apprentice will spend the major portion of his time. He will also have a brief period of study in several other shop departments to round out his practical training.

"5. The Employer agrees to assign certain members of his organization to the task of instructing the apprentice in such subjects as the reading of drawings, planning work, Methods Department routine, and such other subjects which in the opinion of competent members of the Employer's organization, would be suited to the training of an Apprentice.

"6. It is agreed by the Employer and Apprentice and his Guardian, that the period of apprenticeship shall be eighteen months, or a total of not less than 3,000 hours nor more than 3200 hours.

"7. The Guardian of said Apprentice, on his or her part, covenants and agrees that the Employer may pay to the Apprentice all wages and compensation which may become due for his services.

"8. The Employer shall pay the Apprentice for services rendered as follows:



|                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1st 15 weeks—25¢ per hour | 4th 15 weeks—34¢ per hour  |
| 2nd 15 weeks—28¢ per hour | last 18 weeks—37¢ per hour |
| 3rd 15 weeks—31¢ per hour |                            |

“If the Apprentice works on piece work, the bonus, as figured by the rules pertaining to piece work for Apprentices, will be added to the above pay for services.

“9. Due to general conditions beyond the control of the Employer, it may be necessary to revise the above figures from time to time.

“10. Apprentices shall have the right to terminate this agreement for satisfactory personal reasons, and upon proof of the same, the Employer shall furnish a statement terminating the agreement without stigma to the Apprentice.

#### “Rules and Regulations Covering Apprentices at Norton Company

“1. Applicants for apprenticeship under this agreement must be not less than sixteen (16) years of age, must possess the equivalent of a grammar school education, and Parent or Guardian must present birth or school certificate giving age of applicant.

“2. Apprentices shall adhere to and abide by all Shop Rules and Regulations.

“3. The first two months of the apprenticeship shall constitute a probationary period, or trial term. The apprentice shall receive credit for the time served during the probationary period, when it is satisfactorily completed.

“4. This agreement does not go into effect until the probationary period has been satisfactorily completed and may be annulled by either party during the trial term.

“5. All lost time must be made up before passing from one pay division to another.

“6. The Employer reserves the right to suspend work in the shop, wholly or in part, at any time it may be deemed necessary. In such case, the Apprentice shall be paid only for the actual time he shall work. An Apprentice who has been suspended because of business conditions, shall have the option of resuming training before any additional apprentices are employed.

"7. Should the conduct within or without the shops, or the work of the Apprentice not be satisfactory to the Employer and the Director of Apprenticeship of the Chicago Branch, National Metal Trades Association, the Apprentice may be dismissed at any time without previous notice, but may be reinstated after a conference with Parent or Guardian.

"8. Each Apprentice who has faithfully and satisfactorily completed his apprenticeship shall, in consideration of the full and satisfactory completion of this agreement and in accordance with these rules, be presented by the employer with a certificate setting forth that he has so completed his term.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seal, this seventh day of September, 1934.

(S) IVER J. FREEMAN  
*Witness*

(S) RICHARD H. KITTREDGE  
*Apprentice*

(S) M. A. DRISCOLL  
*Witness*

(S) RICHARD W. KITTREDGE  
*Parent or Guardian\**

\*Father should sign if living and available; otherwise, mother. Legal guardian should sign in absence of parents."

(S) NORTON COMPANY  
*Employer* H. W. DUNBAR, *Mgr.*

Apprenticeship is still with us, but it has been on the decline for several generations, and it is the object of this paper to point out some of the causes and consequences of the decline of apprenticeship. The advantages of apprenticeship are so obvious that it is hard to understand why people should so generally turn away from it. It is by far the cheapest form of vocational education, and it would seem that this fact should offer an appeal. A stronger argument for apprenticeship is the fact that the employer trains the apprentice because he sees the need for men with the kind of education which he provides. He is personally interested in seeing that the boy is prepared for the highest position which he is able to fill. The employer can make but little profit from one more low paid worker. But if he can prepare the boy for a responsible executive position, the possibility for profit on the part of the employer is great. In spite of the inherent advantages of apprenticeship,

the boys and their parents have been turning away from it, and toward the far more expensive vocational school system.

First I will mention a few of the legal restrictions. In Massachusetts, during the last generation, boys have been permitted to work in factories on routine work of a deadening nature at the age of 14, but have been excluded by law from apprenticeship in most skilled trades until the age of 16. This exclusion was done on the claim that the prohibited jobs were dangerous to the boys. To test this claim I looked up the accident insurance rates for a selected list of occupations. The insurance companies have for years made a study of the frequency of accidents in various occupations, and have established insurance rates for each occupation on the basis of the actual experience. In order to limit the number of occupations examined to those I knew something about, I made an arbitrary selection of all occupations which were carried on in my own factory, even those that were done only occasionally.

#### Accident Ratings for Various Occupations Performed in the Shop of Forbes & Myers, Worcester, Mass.

The ratings are taken from the classification of the insurance companies, the larger number indicating a higher rate for accident insurance. After the rating is a word to indicate whether the occupation is allowed or prohibited to boys of 14 by Massachusetts laws.

|                       |   |                    |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|
| Armature winder       | 4 | Allowed.           |
| Carpenter, shop       | 4 | Allowed.           |
| Die sinker            | 3 | Mostly prohibited. |
| Drill press hand      | 5 | Prohibited.        |
| Armature repairer     | 4 | Allowed.           |
| Wiring buildings      | 4 | Mostly allowed.    |
| Grinder on edge tools | 6 | Prohibited.        |
| Laborer               | 7 | Allowed.           |
| Lathe hand            | 5 | Prohibited.        |
| Machinist             | 4 | Prohibited.        |
| Oiler in shop         | 5 | Mostly allowed.    |

The following were not found in the classification: Machinery painter. Press hand.

Rates arranged according to prohibitions, to boys of 14.

|         | Allowed    | Mostly allowed | Prohibited, mostly or entirely |      |
|---------|------------|----------------|--------------------------------|------|
|         | 4, 4, 4, 7 | 4, 5           | 3, 4, 5, 5, 6                  | All  |
| Average | 4.75       | 4.5            | 4.6                            | 4.64 |

December 6, 1928

I found that the insurance companies had rated those jobs which the boys were allowed to do, as slightly more dangerous than the prohibited jobs. The difference was slight, showing that actual danger of injury was not an important factor in determining the legal danger. But on comparing the prohibited jobs with their educational value, the relation was very clear. The jobs of educational value, the kind which an intelligent parent would like to have his son do if in the shop, were generally prohibited.

The NRA took the next legal step against apprenticeship. Most of the codes ignore the subject entirely, classing apprentices as regular workers, prohibiting them entirely to the age of 16 or 18, and then requiring that they be paid the full minimum wage for experienced workers. That is, of course, the same thing as prohibiting apprenticeship entirely. Some limit apprenticeship to a ridiculously short period of time, as for example the following from the cotton garment code: "A learner shall serve a maximum of six weeks' apprenticeship whether this time is spent in one or more manufacturing plants." That means that boys will only be allowed to learn the low paid routine jobs. It seems to be a provision to provide plenty of cheap labor while prohibiting high grade apprenticeship. A few codes, as for example that of the gas cock manufacturers, have made wage discriminations against apprenticeship. This code provides a minimum of 33 cents per hour for boys on "light repetitive work," but requires that the apprentices must be paid 40 cents per hour, after the first few weeks. In other words, the employer is required to pay the boy 7 cents per hour in addition to his regular wages for the privilege of giving him instruction or helping him toward advancement. Only a few codes permit real apprenticeship.

Criticism of the code provisions with regard to apprenticeship finally produced results. On June 16, 1934, about one year after the first codes went into effect, the President by executive order altered all the codes to permit apprentices, but required that every



employer first get a permit from some agency appointed by the Secretary of Labor. Applications to engage apprentices were promptly presented by employers, but nothing was done about them. The permits were not granted. Instead the Secretary of Labor has spent the time in building up an elaborate organization, with rules and regulations to which the employer must submit before he is allowed to engage apprentices. Among these provisions is one which every employer and apprentice is asked to sign, that the Secretary of Labor will be continued in power over the apprenticeship, even though the law takes this power away. A large number of regulations have been established, and more are promised. The net result seems to be the yielding to the demands of those who wanted apprenticeship, but the continued practical prohibition of it by means of regulations which neither the employer who desires to treat the boys fairly nor the intelligent boys will be willing to submit to.

It is hard to understand the motives behind these laws. It is hard to comprehend how social reformers can advocate laws to prevent the boy who goes to work from getting the same experiences which they urge the city to provide for school boys at large public expense. But it is a fact that it is done. It appears to be a case where the rights of the boys are being used as pawns by selfish interests fighting each other. In the case of the NRA, the same interests who secured the prohibition of apprenticeship in most of the codes seem to have influence with the Secretary of Labor and her committees. The statement is often made privately that the laws against apprenticeship have been secured by the influence of those who are trying to protect their jobs against the next generation, and who are willing to go to the extreme of keeping boys down in order to secure their ends. These are only accusations, and I do not know the real motives behind the movement, but I have to admit that I have never heard any other rational explanation of the movement against apprenticeship. I can see no other reason why laws should be passed which have no effect except to keep boys from learning, and which take away their opportunity for advancement to skilled trades and executive positions.

It is perfectly evident that laws of this kind could never have been passed if the boys and their parents had really cared about apprenticeship. It is only when the public loses interest in its

rights that they are taken away by legislators. Therefore, in looking for the causes of the decline in apprenticeship, we should look for the causes of the change in public sentiment rather than at legislation. Of these the most conspicuous is what might be called the theory of the foundation.

In medicine, law, and industry it is agreed that the start in the occupation itself should be long delayed, until a thorough foundation has been laid. In music and art, on the contrary, it is agreed that an early start is beneficial. Either point of view may be maintained logically, but to assume, without evidence, that the foundation must precede vocational study in one subject and must not in another subject is irrational.

The theory of the foundation does not appear to have resulted from any psychological study. At least I have not been able to find any study of this kind, or any evidence that the delayed vocational start is of any benefit. It seems to have been the result of ideals of aristocracy and seclusion. When Mrs. John Adams, in 1774, raised the question whether to send her son John Quincy to school, she decided upon a private tutor instead, in order to avoid contact with boys of bad habits. Miss Edgeworth, in her book previously quoted, lays great stress on protecting the child from contact with people of low manners or low character. She even wanted to prevent social contact between children and servants, largely because of the traits of minor dishonesty which she considered characteristic of servants. This ideal of seclusion might readily lead to a desire to delay entrance into an occupation in which contact must be made with all classes of men, while it permitted occupations such as that of musician which could be conducted in a select social group. We can see how a parent who insisted that her child must not come in contact with common people might gladly accept and propagate the theory that the child would learn more quickly and make greater progress because of the delay, even though no evidence was presented to support the theory.

It is my opinion that this was the most important factor in causing the acceptance of the theory of the foundation, but whether I am correct in this or not, the fact remains that the theory is comparatively new among popular educational dogmas. The theory is asserted confidently and positively, but, so far as I have been able to discover, without any evidence to support it.

At the very time when Miss Edgeworth was telling the wealthy how to bring up their children carefully out of contact with the masses, at the time when the ideal of seclusion was delaying the entrance into a vocation, there was another movement, theoretically in the opposite direction, but which produced similar results. I refer to the movement for public schools. Of course there were public schools from the earliest days, but it was not until about 1840 that the ideal of the public school as we know it, the ideal of getting all children into the same school, came into vogue.

The outstanding figure of this movement was Horace Mann. On account of his standing and influence it might be well to state a few facts about his character. His appeal was largely one of the emotions. He felt that the common school was the one thing that would raise the country to a new standard. The school would abolish ignorance, poverty, and crime; or at least the larger part of them. He had also great confidence in his own part of this great work, as shown by statements like the following in his private notes and letters: "If we prosper in our institutions for teachers, education will be suddenly exalted." . . . "My first labor is to prepare an address to be delivered on my fall circuit. This is a labor of incalculable importance. On the acceptability of my address will, in no inconsiderable degree, depend the success of the cause." . . . "I was then just finishing my Annual Abstract . . . which I commend to your attention for its extraordinary merits." This feeling of the great importance of his work must have been a powerful stimulant to his devotion to the cause, and his resulting influence.

And yet, when we look for statements of educational value in the writings of Horace Mann, we meet continual disappointment. In his private notes we find frequent statements of doubt as to whether he was able to present his subject properly. Never, so far as I have found, did he have any doubts about the facts which he desired to present. We find no longing for more information about the principles of education or about its results, such as any person with a scientific attitude must have. We never find mention of the discovery of any new information about education. Sometimes I wonder whether he ever took the trouble to look up any of the facts before presenting them. I will just mention one rather trivial example. In a tirade against giving so much devotion to business, he wrote: "Mammon is not satisfied with the heart worship of his

devotees; he has stolen the very language of the Bible and the Liturgy." He mentions four examples, the words *good*, *grace*, *redemption*, and *testament*. "The three-days respite which the law allows for the payment of a promissory note is called grace, in irreverent imitation of the sinner's chance for pardon." And so with the other three words. It sounds like quite a forceful argument to the ignorant, and doubtless it would be possible to find four words which business had stolen from religion, but in the case of the four words which he selected, it was the Church that stole the words from their older secular use.

This example has no significance in itself, but it shows a spirit that seems to me to mark a turning point in American education. Horace Mann won, and with his victory came the triumph of those methods which he had used, particularly the emotional appeal that scorns such trifles as truth and accuracy of statement.

Miss Edgeworth and Horace Mann appear to be the extreme contrast; science and sound psychology against the emotions, aristocratic exclusion against democracy. It was therefore a surprise to read Mr. Mann's comments on Miss Edgeworth's book: "Have been reading Miss Edgeworth's excellent work on *Practical Education*. It is full of instruction. I have been delighted to find how often the views therein expressed had been written out on my own thinking. Had I ever read the book before, I should charge myself with unconscious plagiarism." Evidently there were points in common, which Mr. Mann considered of as great importance as the more conspicuous contrasts. But I was unable to find these points in common in their writings.

Both these last two movements, that of aristocratic seclusion and that of the democratic public school, won to a certain extent, in spite of the fact that they are mutually antagonistic. The aristocratic ideal, that the boy must be kept away from lower influences, from contact with ordinary boys, has not only kept the aristocratic boy out of work that requires contact with people of inferior social standing, but it has been misapplied to keep all boys out of this work. The democratic ideal has won to the extent of getting all boys into school, but it has failed in the effort to get all boys into the same school.

These two forces—the advance of the theory that a foundation was needed before learning an occupation, and the emotional appeal



of the school as such, as contrasted with the desire for education—both have worked to reduce the feeling that apprenticeship was an essential part of education. A further influence that worked in the same direction was the theory that a person can learn to do any kind of work without specific education. It is the feeling that experience makes the person qualified for the work, whatever the nature of that experience. Apprenticeship was the relic of organized industry of Europe with its codes and restrictions. Pioneer conditions of America taught self-reliance. It taught men to go ahead and do things regardless of specific training to do them. The idea that no specific training was required even entered the apprentice system, as is shown by the following indenture taken from the History of Chelmsford. Note that in no place in this indenture is it suggested that the apprentice will be taught anything relating to his occupation.

“This Indenture Witnesseth that Andrew Bettey of Chelmsford in the County of Middlesex in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in Newingland, Wever, hath putt his son Andrew Bettey Apprentice to Samuel Adams of the sd Chelmsford in the County and Province aforesd., yeoman, and Esther his wife, to serve them from the Day of the date hereof for and during the full term of four years next ensuing. During all which Time the sd. Apprentice his sd. Master & Mistress faithfully shall serve, their secrets keep, their lawfull commands gladly everywhere obey. He shall do no damage to his sd. Master & Mistress, nor see it done by others without letting or giving notice thereof to his sd. Master & Mistress. He shall not wast there goodes nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony within the sd. Term. At Cardes, Dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play. whereby his sd. Master or Mistress may be damaged with their goods or the goods of others. He shall not absent himself Day nor Night from there service without there leave, nor haunt taverns and ale houses, but in all things be have himself as a faithfull apprentice ought to do during sd. term. And the sd. Master and Mistress shall teach or cause him to be Instructed so as to Reed well and Write and Cypher, if capable of Larning, and to provide for him sufficient meat, drink, apparel, washing and lodging, both in sickness and in health, fitting for an apprentice during sd. term, and at the end of sd. term to give to the sd. apprentice two goode

sutes of apparrel (i.e.) one sute new, fitt for Sun Days, the other fitt for the working days, and also to give the sd. apprentice Thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence, lawfull mony at the end of the sd. term of time. And for the trew performance of euerry of the sd. Covenants and agreements either of the sd. parties bind themselves to each other by these presents.

"In Witness where of they have interchangably sett there hands and seales this second day of January, anno Domini, 1758, and in the thirty-first year of his Majesties Reign, &c."

It is evident that the apprentice was expected to learn his master's business, that of farming, but why mention the fact? How could a boy work on a farm for four years, helping his master whenever and wherever his services were desired, without gaining a good all-round knowledge of farm work? He became experienced, and we still hear the expression used that a man is experienced, as though experience was the only thing required to become expert.

Another difference between this indenture and the first one mentioned is the matter of compensation. In the first indenture the instruction was considered full payment for all the service rendered. In this one the instruction is considered negligible and the services are to be paid for, not the full amount for a skilled man, but a substantial amount in the form of full living expenses, care in case of sickness, and a substantial money payment at the end of the term. This program is plainly one of lower grade. In the new federal regulation of apprenticeship, the low grade program has served as the pattern. Wages equal to half those of the skilled man are required, clearly based on the assumption that the apprentice will be merely a helper with a negligible cost of instruction.

The theory that no specific vocational education is required has been destructive of apprenticeship, and it has even entered the vocational school to a certain extent. In some cases the vocational schools give full preparation. Commercial school graduates are prepared to go right into an office and produce a day's work of some of the more standardized tasks. A machinist graduate of the trade school can produce a full man's work in the simpler more routine tasks of the machinist. But to an increasing extent the schools are claiming to give only a foundation, not the same foundation as is claimed by the arts colleges, but a foundation of its own kind. Trade school officials say: "Do not expect an experienced journeyman

from our graduate. He will require training after he leaves the school." Our leading technical and business schools claim to give a foundation which will lead to the highest industrial positions, but the remoteness of the objective is illustrated by the following two quotations. From Dean Freund of the University of Detroit: "I think it absurd to set up formal training for the highest positions in industry." From Asst. Dean Wright of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration: "Hence the young graduate is prepared to be assigned a humble position in industry and only by merit will he be advanced to an executive position. Thus you see that the main course of our training is to prepare men to handle business enterprises, but the candidate must serve an apprenticeship before recognition of his ability is granted."

A prevailing attitude was expressed to me in the letter of a recent graduate when applying to me for a job. "Mr. Forbes, the engineering graduate of today is willing to consider any position because he realizes his own limitations. He stands on the threshold of a perfectly definite field, and he has created within himself a mental condition in which he has perfect confidence. But—and this is the important point—he lacks actual contact with business relations and with industry itself. . . . He believes, then, that with certain limitations he can find these important things in almost any position which he may accept." This is coming right back to the old theory that no provision for specific vocational education is needed, but applied after an extensive foundation has been laid.

Dean Wright speaks of an apprenticeship to follow the business course. That would make the education of the young man consist of academic training to the completion of the college course, followed by two years of vocational foundation, and then an apprenticeship of uncertain length. A logical argument can be made for this program, but I do not intend to discuss the argument. I will only point out the way that it has been working in recent years.

Industry has been supplied with a large number of intelligent young men, mature in attitude and possessed of a large store of information, but coming to business with an almost incredible ignorance of the knowledge that the employer wants. Employers might offer to these young men a long apprenticeship, but they have found from experience that the students are not prepared for such a program either mentally or financially. So they have met the prob-

lem by extreme specialization. In a few weeks a young man can learn the formulas used in an engineering process, insert the figures for the particular job in view and turn out finished calculations almost as fast as an expert. I will illustrate the extent of this specialization by the conditions in one factory for the manufacture of electric motors with which I am familiar. A customer inquires for a motor of slightly different design from standard. A salesman at the nearest branch office takes specifications of the requirements of the customer, but he has no idea of what will be required to meet these specifications. The information is sent to the sales office at the factory. From there it goes to the office of the manager of engineering. This office sends the electrical requirements to one engineering office where an estimate is made of the dimensions required to meet the electrical requirements. Another engineering office is then consulted which has the records of all the standard parts. If possible, standard parts are selected, but if none are suitable the information next goes to the drafting room for estimates and sometimes drawings. This information, the list of parts and the estimates of new work, is sent to the cost department. The manager of engineering now has the estimated cost, which passes through the factory sales office, the district sales office, and finally the salesman is able to quote to the customer. Then, if the order is placed, it must pass through an even longer list of offices before actual work on it starts.

There are advantages and disadvantages in such extensive subdivision of labor. It is my opinion that the subdivision has been carried beyond the most economical point. But observation of the methods of management shows that the reason for its adoption was not the inherent efficiency but the possibility of using the supply of young men graduated from the schools with little or no knowledge of the business.

Dean Wright referred to the apprenticeship that was to follow his school. The student sought actual contact with business relations. The few found them, but many found only routine work in one narrow job. I am judging the result largely from the applicants who applied for work with me after working in these offices. That is not an entirely fair basis on which to judge, but what I saw was facts. I cannot say to how large numbers these facts applied. In the years preceding this depression, young men who had entered



the large offices directly from college, who had worked in these offices five to ten years, came to me disillusioned and dissatisfied, ready to start again at wages less than they had received when first out of college. They felt that they were in blind alleys with no prospect of any better future. And they gave me to understand that there was an unlimited supply of men in the same situation.

Some of the executives in these large companies realized at the time that they were not doing the right thing by the students. They realized that for a large part they offered no prospect of advancement. As an example, I will quote from a personal letter of one of the representatives who visited the colleges for graduates. "Some of us who did the work here realized at the time as we went on the campuses in every state that the situation was going to crack and that what we were doing was not sound either from the standpoint of the college, the industry, or the individual student. When I left . . . to make a very long trip it was with the deepest misgivings on the outcome of the whole project. On what is to be done about it, the other point, I am at a loss."

This was about conditions before the depression. It was followed by curtailment in these offices, and a large part of the young graduates were dropped. I do not know what has become of them, for I have not been receiving as many applications as I did in the years immediately preceding. They appear to have been too discouraged even to ask. I will not predict what will become of them next, but I heard the statement of a prominent engineer of one of the largest companies that the young men who have been dropped by his company will never be taken back, that when the time comes for more men in these specialized office jobs of minor grade they will turn to the schools for a new crop of graduates; and then, if circumstances repeat themselves, they will treat the new graduates in the same way.

Industry has met the increasing supply of graduates by so organizing that it can make a profit from the labor of these graduates just as they are, regardless of the future. The ordinary graduate, if he receives no further education or guidance, may look forward to a blind alley job in which he will reach his highest level in a few years, with the continual prospect that he will be laid off to make way for a younger man.

To prevent this situation, the only solution that I see is a return

to apprenticeship, either in addition to or instead of part of the school training. But blindly returning to apprenticeship may cause as great difficulties as it prevents. To illustrate, I will quote from some advice given to me by a member of the Lynn Advisory Committee on Apprentice Training:

"In closing I think that you should seriously consider . . . the possibilities for positions for these young men after they have completed the training course, otherwise you are liable to run into the same difficulty that we have at Lynn where after a long training in our shops and engineering school, it is difficult to secure proper employment for the high school graduate on account of the great number of college-trained men seeking employment along similar lines."

There is a reason for this difficulty. This particular apprentice course is more nearly like a school than like true apprenticeship. So it is not strange that it should meet the same difficulties. The course has been organized on a regular schedule, the apprentices being transferred from job to job in the factory, with a regular schedule of studies to accompany it. No effort was made to vary the course to meet the particular need of the time. An experience of this kind should serve as a warning against the routine schedule and the detailed program. But again we find the new Federal regulations on the wrong side. The Federal Committee on Apprentice Training favors the "schedule of operations or processes" with the maximum of detailed program.

A return to apprenticeship must be accompanied by vocational guidance. A few years ago the movement for organized vocational guidance seemed to offer great prospects. It was not intended to try to direct boys into particular jobs, but rather to give the boys information about the jobs, about the qualifications necessary to make good in these jobs, about the chances for steady work or for advancement, and finally to give the boys some information about themselves which would enable them to make an intelligent choice and a start under favorable conditions. The movement has not met expectations and today but little is heard about it. I would like to suggest that the reason was because vocational guidance became subservient to the school and to popular prejudice. I suspect that in a large proportion of cases, any man who carefully and impartially sought the best information that could be secured and gave it to the students would have found it difficult to keep his job.

Whether this was the real reason for the failure of the vocational guidance movement to meet expectations, the fact remains that the movement was silent on the question of feeding young men from technical, business, and liberal arts colleges into blind alley positions in the offices of the large companies. In this most conspicuous case of the need for guidance, the movement failed completely. The failure shows that efficient vocational guidance cannot be expected as long as the public and the parents are not interested. And without vocational guidance we cannot expect much improvement in vocational education.

From the amount of money spent on education we might think that the parents were interested, but we have sufficient evidence that as a rule they are not. We have seen state laws passed that close opportunities in industry, but the parents did not protest. We have the evidence that when the NRA closed most of the remaining educational opportunities in industry, the parents failed to make an audible protest. We have the evidence that when the President offered to restore apprenticeship, the newspapers did not consider it of sufficient importance to print the news. And since then, as the Secretary of Labor and her committees have been tightening the lines against the apprentices, the press has been silent. The newspapers know what interests the public. What better evidence can we get that the parents are not interested in vocational training for their sons than the fact that the newspapers will not print the news of such important changes? From a different point of view, there is the effectiveness of the crudest forms of propaganda. False statements of the money value of school attendance have been widely published and have received general acceptance, in spite of the fact that the errors are easily seen by any intelligent person and have been pointed out in educational magazines. Propaganda of this kind would be absolutely impossible among parents who had a real interest in education and who sought the truth.

Vocational guidance, apprenticeship and improvement in vocational education as a whole must wait until the parents are aroused to the need. But this seems very unlikely. Instead we may expect that to an increasing extent in each generation boys will be educated for unemployment. Coming from parents supported by the dole, they will remain on the dole for life, while those who should be leaders are holding the minor jobs that should go to those on dole.

## HUMANITIES OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Frank Colegrove, February 13, 1931

Not unnaturally at the first, less excusably through the many years since, reports and writings of white men concerning the Indians have stressed the items of "news value," real, supposed or invented points of difference. This has in large measure continued from the first quaint and fearful and mostly long-range impressions of the "painted salvages," down to the present—the wilder and more exaggerated tales being the more frequently repeated. And, indeed, the injustice and injury which have been visited in such full measure upon the Indians, in ignoring their fundamental likenesses to ourselves and stressing their often superficial differences, have vitiated in greater or less degree the relations of every nation with its "alien" fellows, and of class with class in the same nation, so that a major problem of our time is to restrict this tendency of unsanctified human nature, in the interests of neighborliness.

The purpose of this paper is the exact reverse of the traditional one of "news values"; namely, to point out things in which they are like us—all the little circumstances of speech, action or custom revealing the "touch of Nature that makes us all kin," the homely trifles which, as we take them into our regard, accustom us to thinking and speaking of these people in the same terms as of ourselves, as well as the rarer instances of distinguished humanity and unselfish heroism which attest the highest characteristics of our common nature. By humanities of the Indians I mean all of these "humanly human" things, as Mr. Chamberlain calls them, great and small. In this matter of likeness it is no longer a question whether we can equal the Indian on the lowest plane, but whether he can equal us on the highest.

Mr. Alexander F. Chamberlain's conclusion, practically summarizing his two articles published in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, on "The Contributions of the American Indian to Civilization," and "Wisdom of the North American Indian in Speech and Legend," is that the North American Indian is, fundamentally and generically, "a man, as we are men," and in the great situations of life has thought and done much as we have thought and done. "Reading these primitive documents," he



says, "all must agree that the Indian is one with men and women wherever they may be found; *men at the highest moments of the great races of all time.*"

I shall take as my thesis Mr. Chamberlain's conclusion, and present such evidences in its support as I can in the compass of this paper, leaving it to you to decide whether they suffice to establish it.

At the outset you will pardon me for alluding to so hackneyed a topic as the poetic sensibility of the American Indian to the influences of his natural surroundings (one human trait which has received some just meed of appreciation from his biographers, in sheer wonder at its perfection, in contrast with the duller sensibilities of the white town-dwellers, because of the haunting beauty of these brief tributes from our poets:

From Walt Whitman—

"The red aborigines!

Leaving natural breaths, sounds of rain and wind,  
Calls of birds and animals in the woods,  
Syllabled to us for names——

Leaving such to the states, they melt, they depart,  
Charging the water and the land with names."

And from DeMille—

"The memory of the Red Man,

How can it pass away,

While his names of music linger

On each mount and stream and bay?"

Some forty-five years ago the then newly opened territory along the Missouri River, adjacent to the present city of Pierre, South Dakota, afforded a favorable field for observation of the reactions both of the erstwhile savage to the white civilization brought to his doors, and of the supposed civilized whites to the relatively unrestrained life of the Indian's environment. The movement from both sides toward a common mean was marked; in the one phase hopeful, and in the other often discouraging.

One Indian whom I encountered a number of times, usually sitting in lonely meditation in a nook under the bank of the Missouri, was the typical Indian of Cooper—tall and stately, with changeless

expression, his conversation restricted to "How?" and "Ugh!", clad only in a blanket and moccasins. No longer young, but still in full strength and vigor, he represented the comparatively immobile element of his people. Another, whose contrasting type arrested my attention at first sight, was a young Indian policeman from the reservation just across the river. In mixed Indian and white man's costume, with cowboy hat, and silk handkerchief about his neck, he sat with one leg crossed over the other, on the porch of the little store, smoking a cigarette and talking freely with all.

The religion of the American Indian is too extensive a subject to be discussed in this paper, and I will merely mention its most fundamental conception and most insistent teaching—that without a guardian spirit (*manito*) no individual could possibly surmount the crises of his life. This conception marks him as a spiritual comrade of Socrates. A familiar motto among the Iroquois was, "If a stranger wanders about your abode, welcome him to your home, be hospitable toward him, speak to him with kind words, and forget not to always mention the Great Spirit."

And what of the home—the home life of the Indian in wigwam or tepee? Just what definite ideas are in the mind of the average white person when he thinks of an Indian home? Probably for the most part none; or, even, that the very notion is a contradiction in terms—home life in an Indian tepee of the plains! What possibility is there in the conditions for anything akin to the high and beautiful sentiments and ideals which among us are connoted by the word home? Here is the touchstone of much of the most deeply and beautifully human quality of our nature. Can Tennyson's exquisite lines on the meeting of brother and sister after a period of separation—

"and betwixt them blossom'd up  
From out a common vein of memory  
Sweet household talk and phrases of the hearth,"

or the gentle and beautiful life "on the mats" of his home in Japan, so feelingly referred to by Lafcadio Hearn, find any application, any response in the life of the Indian in his primitive and shifting abode?

The only way to answer these questions is to go into the Indian abodes for such glimpses as our time and information will permit,



and see what the life actually is, noting chiefly the little trifles of incident and converse, of sympathetic association, of counsel and guidance, which reveal the spirit and sentiment of the home. I would throw out as a possible point of comparison, as it occurs to me, that the home life in the tepee may not be dissimilar to that in the tents of the Hebrew Patriarchs.

Of course our survey of the tepee or wigwam must be most cursory. First let us note the arrangement or disposition of the various branches of the family; or first, indeed, that there *is any* definite and orderly disposition. Each branch of the family has a possessive right to a definite portion of the space, the arrangement being essentially uniform for the simple wigwam, and with obvious modifications for the more extensive ones, which may have two or more entrances. In the small wigwam or tepee, then, with its circular or oval ground plan, single entrance, and fire in the center: At the right and the left of the entrance, respectively, are the father and the mother; beyond the father (who is usually at the right), the sons; and on the other side beyond the mother, the daughters; at the back, opposite the entrance, the grandmother. The rule is invariable that the youngest persons should live in the middle of the lodge, where they must pass their elders in entering or leaving.

Of the Iroquois it is said, "There is no people who in their primitive state more religiously respected or distinctly defined the family ties and relationship.

"The young maidens of the Chippewas were closely guarded and were modest in their behavior toward the young men of the tribe. If a young man wished to call upon a young woman, he talked first with the older people who lived next to the door of the lodge. He might then proceed to the middle of the lodge, where the young people lived, and talk with the girl in a low tone, but she was not allowed to leave the lodge with him. If a young man came to call rather late in the evening when the fire had burned low, the mother or grandmother would rise and stir up the fire so that it burned brightly, then fill her pipe and sit up and smoke. The young man could continue his call, but was conscious of being watched. The young men played the 'courting flute' in the evenings, but it was never permitted that a young girl leave the lodge in response to the flute.

"The long winter evenings were pleasant and sociable. The fire

burned brightly, but no work was done which placed a strain on the eyes. A favorite pastime was the making of birch-bark transparencies. The women made basswood cord or fish nets, and sometimes they made birch-bark *makuks* or dishes. The young men reclined in the wigwam and always had a drum conveniently near them. Sometimes they went to call on the neighbors or to hear the story-tellers; it was, however, necessary for the men to do considerable woodwork during the winter, making and repairing their snowshoes as well as their traps. The winter was the time for story-telling, and many old women were experts in this art."

With their resources, how would you improve on the general program?

Much wise and kindly counsel and advice was given, both by parents and grandparents to the young, and by grandparents to their sons and daughters, and also by the "crier," specimens of which I shall quote without particular reference to the sources.

"When the children went to bed the father or mother told them to lie still and try to think of something nice so they would have good dreams. They were encouraged to remember and relate these childish dreams."

"When everyone had retired and the camp was quiet, an old man walked around the camp circle, passing in front of the dark tents. This man was a crier, and he made the announcements for the next day. He also gave good advice to the young people, who were taught to respect him and obey his words. Only a man who was known to embody in his own life the excellent principles he uttered was allowed to act as crier. He usually announced that it was time for the young men who were calling upon the young maidens to go home. He spoke impersonally of the conduct of the young people, describing incidents in such a manner that those concerned in them would know to what he referred. He taught sterling principles of character and gave such advice as he thought necessary. He emphasized the teaching that the young people must not steal, also that they must keep away from fire water, use very little tobacco, and never say anything disrespectful concerning women. He told the women they must keep from quarreling, live peaceably, and not say bad things about each other. The advice to young men and women was: Obey your parents, take their advice, and respect them. If you live in that way while you are among your own people, you will be respected when you go to a strange village."

The grandmother and grandfather advised their daughters and sons, respectively, how to instruct and bring up the girls and boys. One advice which was strong and often repeated was, "If your children go among the neighbors and make a quarrel, don't you take their part. You must bring them home and make them behave themselves. Do not get into a quarrel with your neighbors because of the quarrels of the children."

The mother told her daughter, "Do not run after a boy. If a young man wants to marry you, let him come here to see you, and come here to live with you." Of course there were occasional outgleamings of the "painted savage," as the custom of some of the young girls to redden their cheeks with the juice of the bloodroot.

"Humanly human," Mr. Chamberlain calls these words of an Omaha to his grandson: "My grandson, it is hard to lose one's mother, to see one's children die, but the sorest trial that can come to a man is to have his wife lie dead. . . . No one is so near, no one can be so dear as a wife; when she dies, her husband's joy dies with her. My grandson, old men who have gone have taught me this. I am old. I have felt the things. I know the truth of what I say."

Also the prayer and the song which follow.

Traditional prayer of a Navaho Indian woman as she sprinkles an offering of meal on the fire at the dedication of her house:

"Burn serenely, my fire.

May peace surround my fire.

My fire prepares my children's food;

May it be sweet and make them happy."

Song composed by a Sioux Indian mother who saw her dead child in a dream:

"I made moccasins for him,

I made moccasins for him,

For I love him,

For I love him.

To take to the orphan,

To take to the orphan.

Soon I shall see my child,

Soon I shall see my child,

Says your mother,

Says your mother."

The Indian mother had her infant constantly with her, and the daily relation between mother and child was closer than in the white race. And the relations between the mother and daughter remained peculiarly close and sympathetic.

Here is a lullaby—a very simple one—the significant thing being that the lullaby has been found in nearly every tribe whose music has been at all explored. This one is characteristic in its reference to the *gisuk*, a little gray bird that runs to and fro along the sands.

“Gisuk, black-headed Gisuk,  
Run and come so the baby’s eyes will go to sleep.”

All mothers who croon lullabies to their babies are akin.

The narrative of *Snana*, a Sioux Indian woman, rescuer and preserver of Mary Schwandt in the Sioux uprising of 1862, in her own words reveals so much of home and mother feeling that I insert most of it here.

“About eight days before the massacre my oldest daughter had died, and hence my heart was still aching when the outbreak occurred. Two of my uncles went out to see the outbreak, and I told them that if they should happen to see any girl I wished them not to hurt her but to bring her to me that I might keep her for a length of time. One evening one of my uncles came to me and said that he had not found any girl, but that there was a young man who brought a nice looking girl. I asked my mother to go and bring this girl to me; and my uncle, having heard of our conversation, advised my mother that she ought to take something along with her in order to buy this girl. Hence I told her to take my pony with her, which she did.

“When she brought this girl, whose name was Mary Schwandt, she was much larger than the one I had lost, who was only seven years old; but my heart was so sad that I was willing to take any girl at that time. The reason why I wished to keep this girl was to have her in place of the one I lost. So I loved her and pitied her, and she was dear to me just the same as my own daughter.

“During the outbreak, when some of the Indians got killed, they began to kill some of the captives. At such times I always hid my dear captive white girl. At one time the Indians reported that one of the captives was shot down and also that another one had her throat cut; and I thought to myself that if they would kill my girl,



they must kill me first. Though I had two of my own children at that time with me, I thought of this girl just as much as of the others. I made her dress in Indian style, thinking that the Indians would not touch her when dressed in Indian costume. . . . Once when the soldiers came near us, all the bad Indians were trying to skip from the country, mean and angry; but at this time I dug a hole inside my tent and put some poles across, and then spread my blankets over and sat on top of them as if nothing unusual had happened. But who do you suppose was inside the hole? My dear captive girl, Mary Schwandt, and my own two little children. When the soldiers camped beside us my heart was full of joy. . . . When I turned this dear child over to the soldiers my heart ached again; but afterward I knew that I had done something which was right. From that day I never saw her nor knew where she was for thirty-two years, until the autumn of 1894; when I learned that she lives in St. Paul, being the wife of Mr. William Schmidt. Soon I went to visit her, and I was respected and treated well. It was just as if I went to visit my own child."

I suppose that intolerable monotony, ennui, at once the bane and the spur of human life, is the mother of the invention of all games—pastimes, as they are well called—and, indeed, of about everything else exciting that is "started," from gambling and racing to wars. And so it is no wonder that the Indians of the great solitary spaces developed them in great number and variety, for loafing on the prairie is not exciting. I once tried it, and soon turned to digging wells and cisterns, and acting as mason's helper in preference. However, for my present purpose I wish only to call attention to a few of the simple household games in use in and about the wigwam, so characteristically the development of home life, just to help us visualize the Indian's home and its commonplace accessories in terms of likeness to our own. If you should drop into the house of your neighbor (or at least it was so before this movie-crazed age), you would not be surprised to see the children playing jackstraws. But in the wigwam or tepee of the Indians? It struck me with a little shock of surprise to learn that this was a common game with the Indians, played with a bunch of fifty to seventy-five slender sticks, a little larger than a match, and about four and one half inches long, and a little wooden hook. The same sticks were used in playing a game similar to our jackstones. The sticks were laid

across the back of the hand of the player, who then quickly withdrew his hand and, with the palm still downward, tried to catch all of the sticks between his thumb and forefinger. Cat's Cradle was another favorite game, and they had invented many figures for the completed cradle. And the top was one of the most widely diffused of Indian children's playthings.

One of the deep, abiding human instincts is the desire to possess treasure; things prized not for their intrinsic worth or utilitarian value, nor as money or medium of exchange, but entirely from the esthetic standpoint; things represented to us by jewels, precious stones, bric-a-brac. Of course the unstable conditions of life and habitation among the Indians have been a great handicap to them in the development of this sentiment. In their circumstances what sort of treasures would you acquire?

In the investigation of this esthetic instinct among the Indians it came to me with a sort of pleased wonder that counted among their treasures are woodpeckers' scalps. It seemed so like us, especially like us when children. These are of two sizes, both of them scarlet and beautifully soft; those from the larger bird being slightly the more brilliant. They represent the Yurok idea of the acme of splendor. These are worked into magnificent dance headdresses, and used as trimming on other religious ceremonial regalia. And here I will say that their "treasures" were practically always used in connection with their religious worship and ceremonials. Perhaps it is not a far cry from their satisfaction in these woodpecker-scalp decorated regalia to ours in a finely bound, gold-clasped prayer book or Bible.

Perhaps nothing makes a more universal esthetic human appeal than finely wrought and polished stones, and the delight of the Indians in these, and their constant association of them with their worship, allies them in sentiment with the writer of the Apocalypse of St. John. So, among their most valued treasures are large, beautifully wrought flakes or blades of obsidian, jasper, and flint. These are valued according to their size and color. They might be called conventionalized blades, their form being that of two ordinary blades joined base to base, tapering symmetrically to a point at either end. An observer says, "There are other articles paraded and worn in this and other ceremonial dances which they will on no account part with, at least to an American—one of these is the



flake or knife of obsidian or jasper. I have seen several of these which were fifteen inches or more in length and about two and one half inches wide in the widest part. Pieces as large as this are carried aloft in the hand in the dance, wrapped with skin or cloth to prevent the rough edges from lacerating the hand. The large ones (they reach to thirty or more inches in length and five in width) cannot be purchased at any price. . . . These are not properly knives, but jewelry for sacred purposes."

The red obsidian is rarer than the black and does not come in as large pieces, and is valued more highly. Still more valuable are the blades of white flint, which cannot be chipped quite so evenly as the obsidian, but can be worked broader and somewhat thinner. The largest of these run to about a foot and a half long.

Deerskins of rare colors were among the most highly esteemed treasures, and even a common deerskin represented treasure value when prepared for dance use. Besides the hide, there was the labor of stuffing the head, and woodpecker scalps were needed for eyes, ears, throat, and tongue. An unusually light or dark skin was worth more. A pure albino skin, with transparent hoofs, was rated at \$250 to \$500. But this is a theoretic valuation given for the sake of comparison. The Yurok state that fine white skins did not change ownership. Their possession was known far and wide, and to part with one on any consideration would have been equivalent to a king selling his crown.

As to the savage warrior "drinking the blood of his mangled victims," of whom our schoolboys were wont to declaim, he has rather faded out of the picture. There is no longer any point in speaking of "savage" *versus* "civilized" warfare. If, like us, the Indians were ferocious and cruel in war (I beg pardon. "Efficient," I should now say.), and if even their women sometimes took part in the fighting—well, we have heard of "battalions of death" in the Russian and the French armies. And, anyway, the Indians never made war that some of them might get rich by manufacturing war canoes and bows and arrows, and the "bobbed-haired bandit" is not, I believe, an Indian product. So I will not dwell on the savage warrior. But, strange as it may seem to many of us, for a field in which the "savage" has played an eminent part, and in which we, in all our pride of "civilization," may well take from him a lesson and an example, we may turn to the propagation of peace.

It is of the irony of fate that the pioneers of this great American Republic, which has been in our day the chief obstacle to the League of Nations, should, from considerations of supposed political necessity, have been the instrument of the destruction of the great Iroquoian Confederacy, the most democratic, enlightened, and progressive government among the North American Indians, and probably the longest maintained republic known to history—together with its interwoven League of Nations for Peace. I can perhaps present this matter most quickly and satisfactorily in quotations from an article by J. N. B. Hewitt, in the Smithsonian Institution Report for 1918, entitled "A Constitutional League of Peace in the Stone Age of America."

"In the Stone Age of America the Mohawk, the Onondaga, the Oneida, the Cayuga, and the Seneca, five Iroquoian tribes dwelling in the central and the eastern regions of what is today the State of New York, established a tribal federation or league, with a carefully prepared constitution, based on peace, righteousness, justice, and power.

"After more than four years of a world war, characterized by such merciless slaughter of men, women, and children, by such titanic mobilization of men and weapons of destruction, and by such hideous brutality, that no past age of savagery has equaled them, the peoples of the earth are now striving to form a league of nations for the expressed purpose of abolishing the causes of war and to establish a lasting peace among all men. So of more than passing interest is the fact that in the sixteenth century, on the North American Continent, there was formed a permanent league of five tribes of Indians for the purpose of stopping for all time the shedding of human blood by violence and of establishing lasting peace among all known men by means of a constitutional form of government based on peace, justice, righteousness, and power, or authority. Its founders did not limit the scope of this confederation to the five Iroquoian tribes mentioned above, but they proposed for themselves and their posterity the greater task of gradually bringing under this form of government all the known tribes of men, not as subject peoples, but as confederates.

"The dominant motive for the establishment of the League of the Five Iroquois Tribes was the impelling necessity to stop the shedding of human blood by violence, through the making and ratifying

of a universal peace by all the known tribes of men, to safeguard human life and health and welfare. Moreover, it was intended to be a type or model for all tribes alien to the Iroquois. To meet this pressing need for a durable universal peace, these reformers proposed and advocated a constitutional form of government as the most effective in the attainment of so desirable an end.

"In eulogizing their completed labors the founders of the league represented and described it as a great human tree of flesh and blood, noted for size and length of leaf, which was also represented as being set up on a great white mat—that is to say, on a broad foundation of peace—and whose top pierced the visible sky. It was conceived as having four great white roots composed of living men and women, extending respectively eastward, southward, westward, and northward among the tribes of men, who were urgently invited to unite with the league by laying their heads on the great white root nearest to them."

Aside from its league of peace, the Iroquois Confederacy was a remarkable political structure, and a monument to both the wisdom and the humanity of its framers. It embodied, in that early day, in practical effect, such advanced modern features as woman suffrage, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. As one writer says, "They had planned a mighty nation, and without doubt had the coming of the Europeans been delayed but a century, the League would have included all the tribes between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. . . . The equality of rights granted women was one of the principal factors in the strength of their confederacy, or union."

The participation of the women in the government was often through rather roundabout methods of procedure, but it was very real and powerful. Indeed, in invoking the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, the first steps were taken by the women alone, though their action must be confirmed and completed by the men or by both acting together. Two rather peculiar customs attest the high regard in which women were held among the Iroquois: When a referendum proposition was submitted in the tribal council to the suffrages of all the people, including infants, the mothers cast the votes of the infants. And when, as a practical measure for checking the blood feud, a legal tender of a prescribed price for the life of a man or a woman was provided, the legal tender for the life

of a woman was twice that for a man, because the value of a woman's life to the community was regarded as double that of a man's.

Here is a very brief presentation of the salient points in an experience of a lumberman in the wilds of interior Wisconsin, on the famous lumbering streams. Under his caption, "A Chippewa Good Samaritan," the narrator, Osborn Strahl, says:

"It was in border times, before the introduction of civil law, when the Winnebago, the Menominee, the Chippewa, and the fierce and lawless whites often came in contact and made life hideous for any timid fellow." At that time a lumberman on these streams had but primitive ways of prosecuting his business, and encountered many a difficulty and hazard, and often death, for the wild waters laugh at the puny strife of man. The narrator, with several companions, went far up the streams. They got out the logs, made their rafts, and started to float them down the tumultuous stream. "Three times we shot the rapids with our rafts and barely escaped with our lives, but the third time our raft was banged about amongst the rocks and crushed to pieces, and we men clung to a point of rock that stood a foot or two above the water. For half a day or more we waited there, feeling sure there was no help for us, when an Indian in his bark canoe made his appearance on the wild waters above us, dropping from rock to rock until our location was reached; and, skipping across the mad waters from the eddy of one rock to another with a dexterity only attainable by these savages that we assume to despise, he put us one at a time on shore. As I stood on safe land again looking back at the perilous situation, one could not blame me for a fervent emotion of thankfulness enduring as life; the despised Indian got the better of me here in rendering invaluable service for a multitude of hates. A tiny drop from Heaven, perhaps, touched his heart. May the recollection of his favor ever soften and mitigate the rancor of my thought toward him and his kindred."

The outbreak of the Sioux in 1862 was the occasion of an epic example of heroism and humanity which would shine in the annals of any race or people. I present a free and much condensed summary of the narrative of Doane Robinson, "A Side Light on the Sioux":

In an attack on a frontier settlement in Minnesota, in which most of the settlers were massacred, Mrs. John Wright and two children,



a boy of six and an infant in arms; Mrs. Wm. J. Duly and two girls, the eldest of whom was 12 years of age; Lillie Everett, a girl of 8 years, and two other little girls, daughters of Thomas Ireland, became captives in the band of White Lodge, a subordinate chief of the Santee Sioux. White Lodge and his band, consisting of about 180 persons, at once departed with their captives for the Dakota country, and by November first they arrived at the Missouri River, near the line now dividing North and South Dakota.

The Teton Sioux at this period lived on the Missouri, in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, and when the news of the Santee attacks came to them, they assembled in a council at which they resolved as a tribe to remain neutral. There were, however, some progressive young Tetons who advocated active interference in behalf of the whites, but they were overruled in council. Two of these young men, Martin Charger, and Kills and Comes, a few days later sat down on the bank of the river, and, after a long discussion of the situation, decided to attempt to organize the young men of the tribe into an association for the purpose of rendering the whites such assistance as lay in their power, without involving their people in war with the Santees. Their proposition, however, was received with so much derision by the older Tetons that they were able to induce but nine others to join with them. These eleven boys, the eldest of whom was but twenty years of age, with all the grave formality of the oldest braves, solemnly pledged themselves to withhold no sacrifice of comfort, effort, property, or life which it might be necessary to make to serve the white people. They called their society by a name which is best translated "The Young Men's Association," but by their own people they were known as the "Crazy Band," an appellation which clings to them to this day. The boys thus banded together were Charger, Kills and Comes, Four Bear, Mad Bear, Pretty Bear, Sitting Bear, Swift Bird, One Rib, Strikes Fire, Red Dog, and Charging Dog. They were not prompted to this action by any sinister or mercenary motives, but from sentiments of humanity which would have been creditable to men of the highest civilization; nor was their action suggested to them by white men, but was wholly original with themselves.

The "Crazy Band" learned in November from some traders where the Santees with their captives were encamped, and at once prepared to put their professions into practice. They gathered up

their robes and other peltry, and taking them to the trading house, traded them for food, especially sugar and other delicacies which they knew would be attractive to the Santees, and with these supplies and their horses, started on the long, difficult adventure.

Arrived near the hostile band, they pitched their camp, and invited them to a council, to which White Lodge and his head men came, with guns under their blankets. Charger opened the conference with a typical Indian talk, concluding: "You see us here. We are only young boys. Our people call us crazy, but we want to do something good. If a man owns anything, he likes it and he will not part with it for nothing. We have come here to buy the white captives and give them back to their friends. We will give the horses for them, all the horses we have. That proves that we want the captives very much, for our hearts are good and we want to do a good thing." Then each of the other ten boys repeated verbatim Charger's harangue.

White Lodge replied: "We come from the east where the sky is made red by the fires that burn the homes of the whites, and the earth is red with the blood of the whites whom the Santees are killing. These white captives I have taken after killing many of their people. I will not again be a friend of the whites. I have already done a bad thing, and now I will keep on doing bad things. I will not give up the captives. I will fight until I drop dead."

Then the boys spread a feast, and Charger extended the invitation to partake in these words: "Here is food; eat what you want and go home, and we will take the captives and go home."

White Lodge and his braves accepted the hospitality, but on the conclusion of the feast he remained obstinate in his refusal to give up the captives, and bloodshed seemed imminent. After much bullying another formal council was arranged, and the boys repeated their previous statements,—and again a third time, but only to meet the same refusal from White Lodge.

Then Charger played his last card. He said, "White Lodge, you talk very brave. You kill white men who have no guns, and you steal women and children and run away with them where there are no soldiers. If you are brave, why did you not stay and fight the soldiers who had guns? Three times we have offered our horses for the captives and you have refused us. Now we will take the captives and put them on the horses and take them to their friends.



If you make us trouble the soldiers who have guns will come against you from the east, and our people, the Tetons, will come against you from the west, and we shall then see how brave you are."

At this a Santee from the outside, who did not sit in the council, called to Black Hawk, the eldest son of White Lodge: "Black Hawk, why do you not speak? Why sit so still?"

Black Hawk then spoke, addressing the Tetons. "You young people have done right. Your grub tastes good. You are straight young men respected by your own people. I know some of you, but my father, White Lodge, does not know you. We are starving and it is winter. I have one white child which I will give up. Let the others do as I have done and give up their captives."

After much more wrangling and jockeying, all but one of the captives were finally given up, and the boys had traded themselves out of all their property except one horse and four guns. The remaining captive, Mrs. Wright, was claimed by White Lodge, and he absolutely refused to give her up, until Black Hawk, and his brother, Chased by the Ree, proposed to take her away from their father and give her over to the boys, in consideration of the remaining horse. This was done, and the boys at last started on the return trip. They were more than a hundred miles from home, in a northern winter, without horses or food. The captives were without clothing, and the boys gave them their blankets, leaving their own bodies seriously exposed. After a time they met a friendly Indian on a horse, and they gave him two of their remaining guns for the horse, and, rigging up a travois, placed five of the children upon it. Pretty Bear carried the youngest child on his back and the women walked. We cannot take time to detail the hardships and sufferings of that terrible return trip. Encountering some others of the friendly Yanktonaise, they gave one gun for an old cart, a little food and some moccasins. The last obstacle was the passage of the half-frozen river opposite the home of the boys, which was finally accomplished with the help of some of their people. From here the captives were forwarded by wagons to Fort Randall, and eventually reached their homes.

Are there any of us who would not be proud to claim kinship with these "crazy" boys?

## GEORGE F. BLAKE, JR.

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by William H. Cunningham, November 14, 1930

George Fordyce Blake, Jr., was born into this world with an ancestral background which was interwoven with the industrial and political history of Massachusetts from the earliest colonial days. His great-great-great-great-grandfather, William Blake, came to America with his son, James, in 1635 and settled at Dorchester, where he made the acquaintance of William Pinchon. In May, 1636, he with Pinchon and their associates drew up the Articles of Association for Agawam, now Springfield.

James Blake, the son, was a selectman of Dorchester for thirteen years, rater, constable, deputy of the general court, "clerk of writs," recorder and sergeant in the military company. He was deacon of the Dorchester Church for thirteen years and then served as ruling elder until his death. He erected the second house built upon Dorchester Neck. This house stood near Castle William, now known as Fort Independence, and was destroyed by British troops on February 13, 1776, a little more than a month before the evacuation of Boston.

Mr. Blake's great-grandfather, Increase Blake, was a tin-plate worker with a shop on King Street, Boston, now State Street. He is said to have supplied the Provincial troops with canteens, cartridge boxes, etc., but to have refused to make them for the royal troops and, in consequence, to have been driven out of town. Of his wife, it is related that one day during the siege of Boston she was sitting in front of her door reading the Bible when a passing British soldier asked what she was reading. She replied, "A story of the cross." The soldier took the Bible from her, saying he would fix it so that she would always remember the cross and with his sword cut a deep cross through many pages of the book. This Bible is now in the possession of Mrs. E. A. Knowlton, Rochester, Minnesota.

Mr. Blake's grandfather, Dr. Thomas Dawes Blake, spent his early days in Worcester, where he graduated from Dr. Payson's School with the highest honors in his class. He practiced for a short time in Petersham and in 1799 settled in Farmington Falls, Maine.

Mr. Blake's father, George F. Blake, Sr., was a noted inventor.

Among his inventions was a water meter but his greatest achievement was the Blake Steam Pump, which was so successful that a large factory was erected in East Cambridge and also one in London, England.

George F. Blake, Jr., was born February 9, 1859, at Medford, Massachusetts, the son of George F. Blake and Martha Skinner Blake. He attended school in Medford and Belmont, Massachusetts, and Warren Academy at Farmington, Maine. He also attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he received his training as an architect, but never followed this profession. In 1880 he journeyed around the world, at the end of which trip he entered business. He came to Worcester in 1884 and with Boutwell Brothers of Boston and Lowell established the Blake-Boutwell Company. They purchased the hardware business of Mason & Lincoln on Front Street. This partnership was dissolved in 1886, and Mr. Blake established the firm of Geo. F. Blake, Jr., & Company, dealers in Steel, Iron, Heavy Hardware, and Blacksmith Supplies. In 1888 Mr. Blake built the present warehouse and office at the Junction of Bridge, Foster, and Mechanic streets, using only the basement and the first and second floors. The balance of the building was rented for warehousing purposes until about 1892, when they increased their lines to sheet iron and metal, using the entire building. The business has been carried on at this location ever since. In 1916 they leased the old Boston and Albany freight house on Franklin Street for storage purposes to take care of the material they were carrying during the war.

In 1923 Mr. Blake bought the land at the corner of Summer and Asylum streets and built a second warehouse at this location for the carrying of heavy structurals and machinery steel, equipping it with electric cranes, hoists, etc. In 1926 he built an extension to the Foster and Mechanic streets storage house, which is used for sheet metal and highly finished cold rolled steel.

Mr. Blake was actively connected with this business until 1908 when he was made a vice-president of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, of which he had been elected a director in 1898. For a time he divided his attention between the Geo. F. Blake, Jr., & Company and the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, leaving most of the actual control of the former to G. W. Gabriel as general manager. In 1914 Clarence C. Dodge became general manager

of the Geo. F. Blake, Jr., & Company and continued in this position until Mr. Blake's death in 1928.

The business was incorporated as Geo. F. Blake, Inc., in April, 1929.

About 1900 Mr. Blake started a bar iron rolling mill at Wareham, which he operated for several years but which was discontinued about 1906 or 1908.

Mr. Blake was also vice-president of the Worcester County Institution for Savings and a director of the Worcester Bank & Trust Company.

The personality of George F. Blake was one of the most delightful I have ever encountered. He was strikingly attractive in personal appearance and possessed of unusual charm, always kind, always pleasant, and always considerate. I had unusual opportunities of learning the reactions not only of many men meeting him for the first time but of many more who were constantly associated with him or had met him frequently. I never knew of one who did not yield to his charm at the first meeting or whose admiration did not increase as the acquaintance progressed. The devotion of his employees was not confined to the loyalty engendered by respect but was augmented by a feeling of personal affection for him. Mr. Blake's place in the community was gained not alone from his business achievements, which were accomplished in an unobtrusive but effective manner far from spectacular, but from his capacity for attracting and retaining friendships, and his death left a sense of personal loss with all who had been so fortunate as to come in contact with him.



## EDWIN BROWN

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Earle Brown, November 9, 1923

Edwin Brown was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, March 24, 1844.

His father, Albert Brown, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and came in 1825 to Worcester, as a young man to start in business.

The immigrant ancestor of the family, John Brown, landed in Salem in 1629, and when John Endicott was elected Governor of the Plantation he was chosen on the Council. In the course of a few years he journeyed to Plymouth and Taunton where he lived for a time. In 1644 he became one of the founders of Rehoboth.

In 1828 Albert Brown married Mary Blair Eaton, who was descended from Adonijah Rice, the first white child born in Worcester.

In 1854 the father died suddenly, leaving the mother with nine children; Edwin being ten years old and the sixth child in age, the youngest only two years old. Edwin was born in the house which his father built on Pearl Street, on the lot in the rear of the present Slater Building. This same land was later sold to the Young Men's Christian Association.

His education was in the public schools and on leaving the high school at sixteen years of age, he entered the City Bank as messenger. He was always interested in athletics and as a lad belonged to the gymnasium which Thomas Wentworth Higginson organized in a large barn on Fountain Street, which later was burned to the ground.

His greatest interest, however, was in rowing, and he was among the early ones to make the Lake, then known as Long Pond, a center of boating. In the annals of the Quinsigamond Boat Club written for its fiftieth anniversary, it was noted that he was one of the seven young men who held a meeting on the tenth day of October, 1857, for a first row on the Pond which marked the beginning of the club. This club was largely instrumental in bringing the collegiate regattas to the Lake from 1859 until 1870 when he was referee in the last Harvard-Yale Regatta rowed on the Lake.

At the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, he desired greatly to enlist and follow his elder brother, Stewart; but not until 1862,

when he was eighteen years old, did his mother give her consent. On September 25, 1862, he was mustered into Company C, Fifty-first Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. The regiment was sent to Newbern, North Carolina, and he was in the battles of Goldsboro, Whitehall, and Kingston, North Carolina. Later the regiment went into Virginia, taking the long, forced march to Gettysburg, Pa., only to arrive too late for the battle. Throughout his service he was often detailed to headquarters under Colonel A. B. R. Sprague. He was mustered out July 27, 1863.

On his return, he was taken into the City Bank as bookkeeper for two years; then a short time at the old Worcester Bank, whence he returned to the City Bank to be made later assistant cashier.

In 1870 he resigned to enter the card clothing business in partnership with Timothy K. Earle, the firm name being T. K. Earle & Co. In 1880 the business was incorporated under the name of the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company, with Mr. Brown as agent and treasurer.

In 1881 Mr. Earle died, leaving Mr. Brown in full charge of the business.

In 1886 he traveled in Europe for three months, visiting wire mills, cotton and woolen factories where card clothing is used and seeing customers in England, France, Belgium, and Germany. In this same year a little book was published by the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company entitled *A Century Old*, giving an account of the card clothing industry in this country from its beginning. In the compilation of this Mr. Brown had an important part.

In 1890 the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company sold out to the American Card Clothing Company, which ultimately bought all the card factories in the country but one, and established a main office in the old Knowles Building in Worcester. Mr. Brown was made treasurer of the American Card Clothing Company and retained that office fourteen years.

The T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company had made the first rubber-faced cloth for card clothing to be used instead of the leather in which the wire teeth are set, and this department was not sold with the business to the American Card Clothing Company, but was removed to Providence to the factory of the Mechanical Fabric Company of which Mr. Brown was an active director until about 1904.



Soon after this he was interested with his son, Caspar M. Brown, in the Worcester Metal Goods Company of which he was treasurer and director for about seven years until 1911.

He was a director in the Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank and was vice-president at the time of his death. He was also a member of the Worcester Fire Society since 1888, and of the Society of Antiquity (now the Worcester Historical Society) for many years; of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Quinsigamond Boat Club, The Economic Club, The Worcester Club, and a director in the Associated Charities.

Edwin Brown never held nor desired public office.

His parents were among the early members of the First Unitarian Church, where he always retained his membership.

In 1872 he married Marianna Mifflin Earle, daughter of his senior partner, Timothy Keese Earle, and Nancy Shove Hacker of Philadelphia.

They had four sons: Earle Brown, counsellor at law in Worcester; Edwin Hacker Brown, architectural engineer in Minneapolis; Caspar Mifflin Brown, in business in San Francisco; and Lloyd Thornton Brown, orthopedic surgeon in Boston.

On January 22, 1918, at the age of seventy-three years and ten months, he died suddenly of heart failure, though apparently in good health until that time.

## ALEXANDER BELISLE

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Robert K. Shaw, June 12, 1923

(Prepared chiefly from material kindly furnished by Messrs.  
Ferdinand Belisle, of Worcester, and Hector L. Belisle,  
Fall River. Edited by Robert K. Shaw.)

Of all Worcester's foster-sons, who have been welcomed to her sheltering nest from traditions and inheritance other than her own, none perhaps felt a more conscious double pride in the history of both New France and New England than the subject of this sketch, Alexander Belisle. Born in the village of St. Victoire, P. Q., Canada, September 4, 1856, he arrived in Worcester at an early age, and began at once the slender amount of formal education which was all that a large family in a new country could allow to the eldest of many children.

Apprenticed to a shoemaker, he soon showed his discontent with merely mechanical employment, and at the age of twenty seized an opportunity which was to mold and develop his whole future career. It was in the centennial year of our American independence that Ferdinand Gagnon, owner, editor, and publisher of *Le Travailleur* here in Worcester, had the good sense to take into his employment the future historian of the Franco-American press.

Mr. Gagnon was a man of scholarly taste, and was not slow in discovering that young Alexander Belisle was one to appreciate the value of an education and of the supreme importance in life of things of the spirit. As an avocation to his literary career, which he pursued as zealously as his necessary devotion to many business interests permitted, Mr. Belisle persistently gathered from any and every source, every scrap of material on the history and activities of French Canadians in New England, finally incorporating the researches of many years into his pioneer work in American journalism entitled *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine*, a work of unquestioned authority, issued in 1911.

At the death of Mr. Gagnon, Alexander Belisle became business manager of *Le Travailleur*, but resigned the position shortly to enter the insurance business, to which he devoted the last thirty-six years of his life. Associated here with that fine gentleman of the old

school, John D. Washburn, he found a stimulus and outlet for all that was best in his nature, always looking up to his patron with an almost reverent affection unbroken even at Mr. Washburn's death.

After *Le Travailleur* ceased publication, Mr. Belisle became more and more convinced of the need of such a newspaper, chiefly as a medium for the proper education and progress in Americanization of the great numbers of his fellow countrymen settling in New England without a knowledge of our language, and with very hazy notions of the elementary principles of democracy.

With this unselfish aim he finally succeeded, in 1893, in launching *L'Opinion Publique*, later associating his brothers with himself in the Belisle Printing and Publishing company, a corporation designed to publish the newspaper and enter the field of commercial printing. This corporation he directed, as president, from its foundation to the day of his death.

His interest in the progress and achievements of the French-Canadians in the United States increasing, Mr. Belisle traveled extensively in the West and South, meeting men of prominence wherever he went and forming the basis for a voluminous correspondence on his favorite study, the results of which nearly filled two rooms in his house, which he reserved as a kind of journalistic museum or library. After years of patient collecting, gleaning, sifting, and combining of elements, Mr. Belisle finally had the great satisfaction of producing the book which has made his name familiar wherever Franco-American papers are printed or read.

With the completion of this real chef-d'œuvre many would have been quite content, but in spite of poor and ever failing health, Mr. Belisle took up with zeal and fervor the collation of material for his local *Livre d'Or des Franco-Américains de Worcester*, a compilation of the professional, political, and social activities of the French-Canadians of this city. Though practically completed by the author as planned, the actual finishing touches had to be supplied by another hand.

Practicing his own doctrine of civic service as set forth in the columns of *L'Opinion Publique*, Alexander Belisle became a candidate for the Worcester Common Council in 1886, and served (the first of French-Canadian ancestry) during the next four years.

Likewise was he the first to represent the French-Canadian element on the Board of Public Library Directors, to which office he

was elected by the City Council for the customary six-year term beginning in 1905. The honor of this position he appreciated highly, and particularly his elevation to the office of president of the board in 1910, after serving faithfully for two years as secretary. A regular and interested member, he could always be counted on to lend his active support to any measure leading toward an extension of library privileges for Worcester's citizens. While president, he was instrumental in forwarding the movement for branch libraries, the first definite offer of a Carnegie gift coming during his term as president. During this year he was always on duty as presiding officer, conducting two special meetings in addition to the regular program.

In the winter of 1922-1923 his health failed rapidly and on April 10, after a brave fight, he succumbed to the fatal disease which had so long threatened.

Mr. Belisle was a man of strong religious feeling and firm in the faith which had been his from childhood. In boyhood he learned to serve as acolyte during the religious services in his church. When in later years missions were conducted exclusively for men and evening services were held, there being no boys present, he always volunteered to renew the service of his boyhood. This was done without self-consciousness or ostentation, but as a simple religious duty.

He was proud of his French ancestry. A few years ago he attended the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Lafayette, donated by the French-speaking citizens of Fall River to their city, the fine work of an Italian sculptor. The excellence of organization of the demonstration and the patriotic spirit in which it was carried out made him speak of it with double pride as an American of French ancestry. He called it the finest thing done by the French-speaking people in this section of the country. It pleased him from two standpoints, that of a man of French descent and that of a patriotic American.

His associations with those who were not of his own blood or of his own faith were singularly free from prejudice. He was quick to rebuke any show of prejudice on the part of anyone who chanced to come near him. Claiming for himself the right to cherish those things which are nearest to the human heart, he recognized that right as belonging to others without in any way letting differences

of this kind interfere with the forming of sincere friendships based on the broad principles of manhood. Above all he was a thorough American, whose faith in the future of our institutions was unbounded. His association with the Worcester Continentals may be taken as an illustration of his desire to be intimately associated with the traditions of American patriotism.

Finally, he was essentially a self-made man. It would be a simple matter of justice to say that in developing himself he had the strong sympathy and encouragement of a devoted wife. His talent for making and keeping friends was remarkable. His manner was ever genial, his handshake warm, his smile sweet and genuine, his voice agreeable and well modulated. His type is one which his friends and relatives can ill afford to miss, but which we are all the happier and better for having known and loved.



## RICHARD O'FLYNN—A FOUNDER

A sketch read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by George B. O'Flynn on the occasion of its  
Sixtieth Anniversary, January 24, 1935

Had our revered friend, Professor Cutler, been assigned the task of writing a sketch of my grandfather, you would have had presented to you a far better and more complete picture of the man than even I, his descendant, am capable of producing.

Will you, then, bear with me while I endeavor to portray to you what manner of man he was?

Staples, Smith, Rice, and O'Flynn—what common interest brought them together and eventually brought into being our Society? Surely it was their common interest in the ancient and the antique, and their zealous effort to acquire and preserve the memorials of early and passing Worcester.

To them much credit is due. It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that such a group of men with this particular interest had not existed in Worcester at least fifty years earlier.

To tell you of three of these men I am unable because of my ignorance and my specific assignment, which is this sketch of Richard O'Flynn.

He was born in Grenane, Parish of Newtowne, County Waterford, Ireland, on February 24, 1829, the son of Thomas and Margaret Power O'Flynn. His mother was a descendant of the Norman family De la Poer, and his ancestors had resided in this section for three hundred years.

Like the average Irish boy of his time, he carried his sod of turf to the hedge school, and in that institution peculiar to Ireland, he gained the rudiments of an education which served him well in later years.

In one of his narratives, he describes the manner of securing heat for the primitive school he attended, in these words: "In a corner behind the master's chair was a heap of turf sods, being the contributions of all who wished to warm themselves during the day. Each one of us was expected to bring at least one sod a day, which would entitle the bearer to a seat. Around the fire we were packed like sardines, exhibiting and warming our speckled shins. About five minutes was the usual time allowed; then another relay would

take the places, and so on. All who failed to bring the required 'sod' could sit and shiver, huddling close together their bare and cold feet, or folding cold hands under aprons or in pockets, meanwhile casting envious glances at the fortunate ones whose well-roasted and marked shins surrounded the fire. I sat among the unfortunates many a day and remember it well."

Of his schoolmaster he writes, "Many fond recollections linger in my memory of the master, the schoolhouse, and my youthful associates, very few of whom, if any, are now (1900) living. The old schoolmaster has long since been gathered to his kindred in the churchyard of Ballyduff, near his humble home and the scenes of his useful labors."

To be sure, this master of Richard was humble in a way but no potentate ever ruled more absolutely than he, in his floorless, earth-sided hedge school.

From the age of eight years to ten, Grandfather was taught by Master Power and from the age of twelve (for some time) he studied in a national school.

Being the eldest of seven sons and daughters was reason enough that he should soon find it necessary to become a wage earner. We find him successively a stock-herder, a grocer's clerk, and a baker.

A weekly wage of \$1.75 was certainly not over high for a young man of twenty years and the inducements were not such as to make Ireland as attractive as the dawning thought of a home beyond the sea.

Therefore, when his obligations to his Portlaw employer had been discharged, he packed all his belongings in a small box and went home to say good-by to his loved ones. The final leave-taking from his father was at the hearthstone; but his mother, as mothers will, accompanied him to Waterford and saw him aboard the *Anne Kenny*, which landed him in New York after a rough voyage of seven weeks and three days.

His objective was Worcester, for he had an uncle residing here, and shortly we find him working on a railroad construction job.

The year 1852 was one of great economic distress in the industrial world and Grandfather found himself without work and sadly discouraged.

His restless nature succumbed to the spirit of wanderlust and with only a dollar in his pocket he set forth on his travels with no particular objective save the hope that he might find work.

In spite of his poverty, he found means to buy the *Boston Pilot* and to purchase McGee's *Irish Settlers*, a book that cost him, aside from its price, a walk of nine miles through a snowstorm.

His quest for work was at last crowned with success when he apprenticed himself to Allen and Olds of Danielson, Connecticut, to learn the trade of molder. From his meager wages he saved with earnest frugality, and from time to time, sent sums of money to his parents in Ireland.

In 1856 when his agreement with his employer had ended, he once more returned to Worcester and secured employment at his trade in Wheeler's Foundry.

Now, with a feeling of security at the prospect of permanent employment, he began to develop certain avocations. He allied himself with certain social organizations, among them the Father Matthew Total Abstinence Society and the Catholic Debating Society.

He was almost fanatical in his hatred of liquor and naturally his greatest interest was in the former organization, to which he gave years of devoted service.

But alas, his high hope of steady work was soon shattered and once again he surrendered to the wanderlust.

For nearly two years he journeyed, with a friend, through much of the eastern part of our country and the southern states. There in the South, he saw slaves sold on the block, lashed by the whip, and hunted by hound. The awfulness of human bondage was burned into his soul and he realized the righteousness of abolition.

Unsuccessful in his newest quest for work, he worked his way northward and in March of 1858 arrived in Worcester, rich in experience but financially poorer than the proverbial church mouse.

At last, employment which proved steady came to him. With renewed courage and confidence, and with an earnest desire to establish a home in the land of his adoption, he wed, on April 21, 1861, Anne O'Neil, who was born in Worcester in 1840. She was the daughter of Charles O'Neil, an early Irish settler of Worcester, and veteran of the British Army, and who had fought with distinction at Waterloo. His book, *The Military Adventures of Charles O'Neil*, was published by Livermore in Worcester in 1851.

Five sons of this veteran became soldiers in the Union Army, one of whom was Captain Thomas O'Neil, who gave up his life at Cold Harbor.

The wedding day of Richard and Anne was not an occasion for much merrymaking. Two days before, Worcester men had been fired upon as the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment marched through the streets of Baltimore. Also they had seen their five brothers march away with their regiment.

However, with the zest of youth, Richard and Anne settled down to housekeeping. How much could be done on little can be ascertained by a glance at Richard's journal in which he states, "Worked 302½ days; earned \$453.75. Even with that small earning I saved a little, buried my sister, and sent money to my parents."

Seven children came, in due time, to gladden the parents' hearts. Joys and sorrows, sunshine and tears, the common lot of all flesh, were experienced by this family.

In 1875 the young wife and mother passed away. Three years later, Richard married Mrs. Ellen White, who died in this city in 1901.

While Richard was always interested in politics from a student's standpoint, he was never an aspirant for office and only once held an elective position. Nominally a Democrat, the shibboleth of party was not a favorite with him, being too broadminded to ignore the virtues which he saw in all organizations.

During the years 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1883, and 1884 he served on the School Committee from Ward 5. He was ever a devoted friend of the public schools and nothing in his power was too good for them. Memories of his own youthful deprivations were always vividly in mind.

He early recognized the importance of play in the lives of children and in the fall of 1882 he called a meeting in the fire station on Lamartine Street, with the thought that interest could be aroused for the establishment of public playgrounds.

During the mayoralty of Colonel Stoddard, he petitioned the City Council for action in this direction. This was the first movement of its kind in Worcester.

There was scarcely an organization among the Irish people of the city of which he was not a member. Recognized as a scholarly, methodical, painstaking man, he was usually selected for some responsible office. Then would begin for this Irish Samuel Pepys, a system of collecting and retaining all data pertaining to these societies until his library became a vast storehouse of facts concerning nearly everything Hibernian.



The story of Catholicism in Worcester from the very beginning, including detailed descriptions of the various parish churches in the city up to the time of his death, was recorded in a most legible hand and delightful style. These books are now the cherished property of your writer.

Beginning with the organization of the Jackson Guards in the city—which, by the way, was the oldest Irish military company in the state—and continuing with the Emmett Guards, of which he was a member, he filled four large volumes with written and printed matter. His last entries were descriptions of the trip of the Ninth Regiment to Virginia in the summer of 1904.

When urged by one to have some of his writings published, he answered, "I am collecting material for history. I am not writing it."

In May 1877, Grandfather opened his antique and old bookstore on Front Street. At last his taste for literature could be completely satisfied, and it undoubtedly was. His private library grew apace.

Up to the passage of the "Free Textbook Act" in 1884, he sold many books to the city for use in the schools. He was becoming quite prosperous and could now devote himself to his beloved hobby of collecting Indian relics.

Up to 1903, his collection numbered 8,000 pieces, each one perfect and mounted with precision and a nicety that would thrill the heart of any collector. Much of his collecting was done with the coöperation of a negro preacher in Georgia.

Professor Hitchcock of Amherst College pronounced the collection remarkable. Professor Putnam of Peabody Institute told him that the collection was so valuable and desirable it should be in some institution. Consequently, in 1903, 1500 pieces of his collection became the property of this Society and is now one of the most valuable portions of a varied assortment.

As the local agent of various British-American steamship lines for many years, he sold drafts for purposes of immigration largely, amounting to more than a million and a half dollars. Through this type of activity, he was able to extend a helping hand to many arriving in a strange land.

As a dealer in books, he was able to obtain many choice volumes for his private library. Realizing that his days of enjoying them could not be long, he began the practice of contributing to the Pub-



lic Library, giving in all almost five hundred volumes. Many of these books were in the Gaelic language.

His love and veneration for the literature and language of ancient Ireland was to him almost an obsession.

He was a fluent user of this parent speech of the Irish, which he could read with ease. He frequently acted as an interpreter in court where some immigrant, using Gaelic only, needed such services.

He knew personally, and corresponded with, some of the most distinguished Gaelic scholars, including Dr. Douglas Hyde, to whom it was his fortune to speak in Gaelic, on his deathbed.

Grandfather long felt that a complete record of the inscriptions and epitaphs in the old Catholic Cemetery in Tatnuck, as well as in St. John's, should be copied and preserved. So he set himself the task, aided by my father, who rather ruefully told me of the long hours spent, which to his boyish mind were decidedly wasted when he could have been swimming or playing ball.

In 1894, while visiting Ireland, Richard discovered a very old stone in the Abbey yard at Waterford. This stone was exquisitely carved and was undoubtedly of great age. He later presented this stone to the British Museum in London. Its age and the secret of its inscription have never been solved.

At the end of the year 1904, Grandfather felt that he should retire from the active control of his business, and so he relinquished the responsibility to his sons.

He had long anticipated the time when he could revel at will in the delights of his library and his little museum. Unfortunately, failing eyesight prevented a realization of his desires.

Saddened by this crushing blow, his morale was broken, his physical health weakened, until on December 24, 1905, he died.

In the words of his friend, Hon. Alfred S. Roe, "It is many a weary day from Waterford to Worcester, but after the toilsome, and at the same time lightsome journey, he sleeps well."

Thus ends the story of Richard the Immigrant.

## BACKWARD AND FORWARD ALONG THE OLD WORCESTER TURNPIKE

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by U. Waldo Cutler, November, 1929

We are daily and painfully reminded of the danger of travel upon the modern New England highways; no new experience, to be sure. One of the Bulletins of The Business Historical Society, an auxiliary to the Harvard Business School and one of the organizations with which we are affiliated, contains a short article, "The Coach as a Public Menace." Two or three passages from this have a distinctly modern sound, and will bear quoting here:

"In the sixteenth century the coach was denounced as a dangerous innovation, and in the seventeenth conservatives lamented the crowding of the roads with the new vehicles, and found them a menace to public integrity. . . . As soon as the new vehicles began to come into general use their effect on the public began to be an object of concern. Someone in 1558 complains 'that the useful discipline and skill in riding have been almost lost,' and young and old alike 'have dared to give themselves up to indolence, and to riding in coaches.' A century later a writer 'is seriously worried by the congestion of traffic,' and recommends the forbidding of coaches in the vicinity of London and the restriction of other coach travel 'to one set of horses and twenty-five or thirty miles of travel a day.' "

Our modern standards of speed and ideas as to the borderline between luxury and necessity are different from those of earlier times, but the principles involved are much the same.

A century ago, when Isaiah Thomas was almost at the end of his active and effective career, the Blackstone Canal and the Worcester Turnpike Corporation were as near to financial success as they ever became, only, in a very few years to fall back into disuse and semi-oblivion. And now, on the eve of the three-hundredth anniversary of the colony that they helped so much to unify and develop, the Turnpike route that Isaiah Thomas, Dr. Oliver Fiske, and other enterprising Worcester men spent time and means to promote is to come again into popular favor and active use as an important road between the coast and the continent-wide interior. Before the echoes of the Thomas coachee up hill and down dale over this historic route are completely lost even to tradition amid the rumble

of trucks and cars bound to and from far-off parts of the country, we ought to take a back-sight along those  $37\frac{1}{2}$  miles of almost straight highway that was such a proud piece of engineering at about the time Worcester was fairly started upon its second hundred years of settled history, and that was also such a promising form of investment when public utilities and railroad bonds were undreamed of, and when even the possibilities for great public service by the first Worcester Savings Bank were only just being recognized.

In February of 1805, 146 men petitioned the General Court for a new road to Roxbury which was to be shorter and more practicable than the old stage route from Boston through Cambridge, Sudbury, and Marlboro—the New Connecticut Path of 1649, rerouted in 1673. I have as yet found no record that Isaiah Thomas signed this petition, but it seems wholly probable that he did so; for on April 15 of the same year, 1805, he makes entry in his diary that he “hired two Surveyors and went with them to survey the Land E.  $1^{\circ}$  North for a turnpike road to Boston—crossed the hills and Long Pond over to Shrewsbury on a direct line  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Worcester Bridge, and returned home the same line back; a good road can be made.”

Ten days later, April 25, 1805, he mentions going out to meet the party of surveyors who had spent six days on the route from the schoolhouse in Roxbury, (a spot we know as Brookline Village now) crossing Long Pond only a short distance from the point where he himself had crossed just before with his two hired surveyors. Nine days later still, May 4, he records, “The Com. . . . set off from the Court House” (he with them presumably) “on a course East  $1^{\circ}$  north to Bladder pond—thence about due E. & W. to the Long pond, on a resurvey for a road to Roxbury.”

The next spring, March 18, 1806, he was ready to sign for 10 Turnpike Shares of stock. October 30 of that same year, 1806, the first meeting of stockholders was held in Boston, when the number of shares was fixed at 600, with a par value of \$250; so we know the extent of Thomas's financial venture, with his ten shares. The American Antiquarian Society has Aaron Bancroft's stock certificate for five shares, dated November 30, 1819. One wonders whether at that date he paid par for it.

Under the year 1810 the Thomas Diary lists the many offices of responsibility he then held, including that of director of the Turn-

pike Company, and December 13, 1811, he records his unanimous reëlection to that office. November 26, 1813, he resigns his office in this company, "in which capacity," he says, "I have served ever since the Corporation commenced." December 27, 1814, August 9, 1815, and December 30, 1815, he seems to have received dividends on his stock, and again in January of 1820, a small one.

The pike was completed in 1809 at a cost of about \$3,750 per mile. It crossed Long Pond by some sort of floating bridge, which, however, lasted but few years. It was partly burned in 1817, and this fact may account for the entry in the diary twice during 1818, "paid Turnpike assessment," \$285 in one case, \$380 in the other. These facts make us wonder all the more whether the minister of the Second Parish had proper broker's advice when, in 1819, he bought five shares; perhaps he paid far below par or took it to relieve some poor parishioner in financial extremity.

In June of 1817 there is this entry in the diary: "A new bridge is now building over the Long Pond on the Turnpike road to Boston. The floating bridge is now entirely removed; that is, it has been sunk to the bottom of the pond as a foundation for the new bridge, which new bridge I think will not stand, or answer any valuable purpose." This new bridge was supported on nine piers, thirty feet apart, built of timbers laid cobhouse fashion, which were sunk platform by platform, and were expected to stay down by their own weight. But on September 19, of the same year, the buoyant timber piers, which had sunk unevenly, tipped over, and the 54,000 feet of lumber and the \$13,000 of cost were a pure waste of resource, as Isaiah Thomas anticipated they would be.

At the American Antiquarian Society there is a copy of the printed call of an adjourned meeting of the stockholders of the Turnpike for Wednesday, October 29, 1817, at 11 o'clock, at Stone's Tavern, Newbury (now Washington) Street, Boston, to hear reports of two committees appointed at the last meeting, one "for the purpose of investigating the structure and expense of the late bridge over the Worcester pond and the cause of its failure; the other for the purpose of receiving proposals to make a framed or other bridge, or a permanent causeway across the said pond, and of exhibiting plans and a report of the best and most practicable mode of constructing the same." We can imagine our Worcester stockholders present at the meeting *thinking*, "I told you so," if not saying it, and ready with practical wisdom concerning the best way to carry



the Turnpike across that five-hundred-foot span of Lake Quinsigamond, with water from fifty to seventy feet deep. This third bridge seems to have served, at least as a makeshift, for about thirty years, or until the making of the still well-remembered causeway gave employment to the hungry people of Worcester in 1859, and made safe and stable the historic crossing place.

As a bee line route to Roxbury and thence over the far older road into Boston, this Worcester pike doubtless seemed a wonderful convenience in its day, but the practical people of that practical age overlooked the fact that the bale of a bucket is no shorter when set vertical than when lying flat. Certainly before the days of self-propelling vehicles the grades of inland New England might have been recognized as an important matter for consideration when laying out routes of travel. Besides, dodging the tollgates seems to have been the then popular form of law evasion, increasing greatly the difficulty of administration and diminishing the legitimate dividends to stockholders.

Even before the first railroad entered Worcester, in 1835, the Turnpike was made free, and March 10, 1841, the Corporation was dissolved—a failure of effort in public service that Isaiah Thomas did not live to see. Since the route lay through the center of no town except Framingham, it grew more and more unpopular, and parts of it were in time wholly abandoned, at least till the coming of the Boston and Worcester Street Railway. In turn that also has become unremunerative, and has been abandoned.

But now, when coachee, stagecoach, curricule, carryall, and almost the horse itself have all become only museum pieces, and perhaps the trolley-car too, the very arguments for giving up the Turnpike because it led through no villages becomes an argument for opening an auto route over the course surveyed a century and a quarter ago by Worcester's first postmaster, first printer, first citizen. The Boston pike route seems likely soon again to enjoy public favor, and its quadruple track of graded and cemented road bed should not be brought to realization without this passing thought of those public-spirited, forward-looking, enterprising men of affairs who a century and a quarter ago did so much to give Worcester a name to live.

NOTE: A year or more after this paper was presented, the new four-track boulevard over the Turnpike route was opened to the great satisfaction of a restless age.



## DANIEL KENT

Daniel Kent was born at Leicester, Massachusetts, January 2, 1853, and died at his residence, 20 Cedar Street, Worcester, on the evening of December 25, 1935.

Mr. Kent was educated in the public schools of his native town, preparing for Amherst College at Leicester Academy. He graduated from Amherst in the class of 1875. In college he was especially interested in public speaking and won several prizes in oratory. This interest led him to establish, in 1888, at his Alma Mater, the Kent Prize awarded annually to the senior who submitted the best essay on a subject in English Literature assigned by the department. This prize was discontinued in 1915. In extra-curricular activities Mr. Kent was interested in rowing, in editorial work on the *Amherst Student*, the college paper, and in other lines.

After graduation he studied law two years at the Boston Law School and was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, but followed the profession of the law for only a brief period. He entered upon a business career, associating himself with his brother, Prescott G. Kent, in the manufacture of woolen goods in Leicester, the company being known as the Lakeside Manufacturing Company, this company later operating the mill at Jamesville. When the City of Worcester took over the stream which furnished power to the Lakeside mills in Leicester, the business was given up, the factory buildings and houses in the village being demolished.

For many years Mr. Kent made his home in his native village, and served in many town offices: selectman, trustee of the public library, chairman of the park commission, secretary of the school committee, and repeatedly moderator of the town meetings. A strong Republican in politics, he was a member of the State Republican Committee from 1892 to 1895, serving as secretary of the committee in 1894-5.

In 1897 Mr. Kent removed to Worcester, and made his home in this city thereafter. He was elected register of deeds for the Worcester District in 1900, and was reelected for five terms, retiring in 1923 under the age limit. During his long administration in this position he introduced many changes, placing the office on a high plane of efficiency. He made a special study of indexing and in 1903 published his *Law Records: A System of Indexing*. He also in-

vented a case for classifying cards and a card-holder, both of which were patented.

Mr. Kent held office in many organizations besides those noted above. He was three times elected president of the Central Amherst Alumni Association, was for several years president of the New England Sabinet Manufacturers Association, and also for many years a vice-president of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He was elected a trustee of Leicester Academy in 1900 and was chosen secretary of the Board in 1905. This office he held at the time of his death.

He held membership in numerous clubs and societies: the Worcester Club, the Tatnuck Country Club, the Sons of the Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars, the Worcester Historical Society, the Worcester Animal Rescue League, and, especially, the Baronial Order of Runnemede, as he traced his descent from three of the barons who wrung the Magna Charta from King John. Mr. Kent prized this membership highly.

Always of strong literary tastes and inclinations, he spent much of his later life among his books and in genealogical research. He was also fond of travel and indulged this fondness by taking many long journeys in this country and abroad.

Mr. Kent married July 2, 1878, Georgia, daughter of Nelson Franklin and Henrietta (Snowden) Tyler. She died in 1914, and he married again, December 1, 1915, Hattie May, daughter of Francis Augustus and Hattie Mowry (Lapham) Leland of Worcester, who survives.

Of winning personality, always charming to meet, and always delightful in conversation, Mr. Kent had a great fund of information derived from his reading, his historical research, and his extensive travels. He was a most interesting companion as well as a sincere and loyal friend. His services to Leicester Academy and to many other organizations were of inestimable value, and to this kind of work he devoted himself unsparingly. His historical contributions were of great worth. He had read several papers before the Worcester Historical Society, which showed deep investigation and these he always contributed gladly. One of these papers follows.

Z. W. COOMBS

## THE LOCATIONS OF THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD JAILS IN WORCESTER COUNTY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Daniel Kent, April 10, 1931

The Worcester Historical Society is always interested in local historical questions, one of which is the location of places where formerly stood buildings which have long since disappeared and whose exact location has been lost in the growth of a large city.

The locations of the first and second jails of Worcester County are questions which merit your consideration.

In 1907, while I was Register of Deeds, Mr. Charles A. Chase, ever interested in historical research, submitted to me this question, "Where was the first jail in Worcester, on Lincoln Street, located?"

It was a subject worthy of research and I take pleasure in submitting to your Society the result of my investigation; this, of course, was made from the records at the Worcester Registry of Deeds.

Like all questions of this nature, I am aware it will at times seem involved, but I trust it will become clear, after a careful consideration of the various steps taken in arriving at the solution.

In Book 3, page 50, is a deed from Thomas Stearnes, innholder of Worcester to Jonathan Houghton, of Lancaster, Treasurer of Worcester County, for the benefit of said County, of a lot of land in Worcester, "being part of ye Land I lately bought of the Reverend Mr. Isaac Burr. Said tract is fifty five feet Northerly and Southerly and fourty feet Easterly and Westerly and bounds Southerly, Westerly and Northerly on my own Land and Easterly on a highway or Rhoad, The Southerly bound is about fourty feet Northerly from a Certain Gravel Pitt near the Mill Dam and Extends Thirty one feet East of ye present Rail fence and Nine feet west and att ye North end it extends Thirty three feet East of ye Rail fence and Seven feet west of said fence, and is for the building of a goal on and Conveniency of Prison yard." This deed was dated, "1 Feb. 1731-2."

Here we have a lot of land fifty-five by forty feet on the west side of Lincoln Street, surrounded on three sides by other land of the grantor. The gravel pit and rail fence have long since vanished and no bounds or courses are given. Where was this particular historic land, the site of the first jail, located?

This is the question we will now undertake to answer. To do this we must find some record which gives a bound with some reference to the jail yard.

In Book 5, page 378, there is a deed from Thomas Stearnes, inn-keeper to Jotham Rice, cordwainer, of an acre and a half of land bounded easterly on the highway, southerly on his own land, westerly on the mill pond and northerly "as far as Chandler's land extends unless the pond and highway should meet and cut it off. Excepting absolutely out of these premises the land which I gave the County for Conveniency for setting a prison and prison yard." This deed was dated September 14, 1734.

The northerly part of this land was conveyed by Jotham Rice to John Chandler, Jr., Esquire, and Benjamin Flagg, Jr., gentleman, by a deed dated December 16, 1734, and recorded in Book 6, page 53. It contained by estimate one acre, "and is part of the land I lately purchased of Thomas Stearnes by deed dated September 14, 1734, vizt, the northerly or northeasterly part, it bounds southerly on the other part which I bought of said Stearnes and to extend *within 40 feet of the prison yard*. It is to bound westerly on the mill pond and easterly on the highway which divides it from land of said Chandler" (Chandler's land was on the easterly side of the highway) "and to extend northerly so far as said Chandler land extends except the pond and the highway should cut it off. The southerly bounds are to be *parallel* with the prison yard as it now runs and to extend the same course westward to said mill pond."

Here is a bound given as forty feet from and parallel with the north bounds of the prison yard.

Can this line be determined at the present time?

The remaining half-acre of the acre and a half conveyed by Thomas Stearnes to Jotham Rice was conveyed by said Rice to Luke Brown on December 7, 1738, by deed recorded in Book 11, page 224, a tract of land with "mansion house and barn thereon, containing by estimation half an acre be it more or less and bounds as follows: Southerly upon land of William Johnson; Westerly upon the mill pond so called and Northerly upon land of John Chandler 3rd and Southerly and Southeasterly in part upon ye highway or county road and in part upon the prison house or yard."

This tract of land surrounded the jail lot on three sides, although the description does not say so. I give the deed not that it directly



assists in locating the jail, but because it brings in the name of Luke Brown, which will appear later in our investigation.

On January 24, 1737-8, John Chandler, Jr., Esq., and Benjamin Flagg, Jr., conveyed to John Chandler 3d one acre of land they bought from Jotham Rice (Book 8, page 586), the southerly line of which was forty feet north of the prison yard.

Without giving a complete abstract of the various deeds which afterwards conveyed the land sold by Jotham Rice to John Chandler, Jr., and Benjamin Flagg, Jr., and by them to John Chandler 3d, I will state that one-half acre on the south side of this lot was conveyed to Timothy Paine by two deeds in 1757 and 1762.

In Book 102, page 589, there is a deed from Timothy Paine, Esquire, to John Paine, gentleman, of one-half an acre with "a dwelling house, barn and another building called an office standing thereon, bounds southerly on land of Samuel Brown deceased, formerly Luke Brown's." This deed is dated August 12, 1787.

In Book 139, page 15, there is a deed from John Paine to Sarah Paine, widow, of about three-quarters of an acre "bounded easterly on the great road or town street, southerly on land formerly belonging to Luke Brown now in the occupation of Benjamin Butman." This deed is dated September 9, 1799.

Each of these last named deeds bound southerly on Luke Brown's land. Luke Brown's northerly line was the southerly line of the deed from Jotham Rice to Chandler and Flagg (Book 6, page 53) forty feet north of the Prison yard.

On August 21, 1822, Dr. William Paine and other heirs of Timothy Paine sold the three-quarters of an acre to George A. Trumbull. See Book 228, page 403.

Then by various intervening conveyances on May 2, 1840, one-half an acre of this Paine land was purchased by William M. Bickford, bounded south on land formerly owned by Luke Brown. See Book 139, page 16.

On May 27, 1848, Bickford sold his one-half acre to Harrison Bliss.

The remaining one-quarter acre of the three-quarter acre sold by Paine heirs to Trumbull finally came into the possession of James Clark of Boston, who on June 9, 1843, sold the same to Harrison Bliss. See Book 380, page 16.

We must now trace the land owned by Luke Brown, whose northerly line was forty feet north of the Prison yard.



On May 13, 1754, Luke Brown conveyed to William Richardson and others in trust for the use of the County of Worcester, a tract of land described as follows: "Beginning at the northeast corner of the present jail yard and extending northerly five feet upon the county road, and from thence turns west and runs sixty feet to a stake parallel with the old jail yard, and from thence turns and runs southerly sixty feet parallel with the west bound of the old yard, and thence turns and runs easterly to the southwest corner of the present jail yard, and bounds northerly, westerly and southerly on said Brown's land, and easterly and southerly on the present jail yard, making in the whole, including the present yard, sixty feet square." See Book 35, page 53.

On September 28, 1818, Levi Lincoln conveyed to Stephen Salisbury the property formerly owned by Luke Brown "bounded north by the Paine estate." See Book 212, page 552.

On November 29, 1847, Stephen Salisbury conveyed to the Worcester and Nashua R. R. two tracts of land. See Book 429, page 335.

The second tract is situated north of Lincoln Square. The description begins at the southeast corner of William M. Bickford's house lot on the west side of Lincoln Street. The last two courses in the description of this second tract are as follows: "thence southerly along said old channel and by said land so conveyed by said Bliss to said Company and by land of said Bickford to his southwest corner, thence *South 55° 8' East* by the *southerly* line of said Bickford's house lot 206 feet to the place of beginning."

Here we have some valuable information toward locating the first jail! This line, the course of which is given *South 55° 8' East* was the south line of the lot sold by Jotham Rice to John Chandler, Jr., and Benjamin Flagg, Jr., December 16, 1734 (Book 6, page 53), which deed states that it was forty feet north and parallel with the north line of the jail yard.

We have seen that William M. Bickford sold his one-half acre which was formerly bounded south on Luke Brown's land to Harrison Bliss six months after the Salisbury deed to the Worcester and Nashua R. R. giving the course of Bickford's south line.

In Book 1217, page 65, there is a deed from the estate of Harrison Bliss by Francis H. Dewey, Executor, to Julius Gunther. The description begins at the *southeast* corner at a *drill hole in a stone*

*monument* and at the *northeast* corner of the Worcester and Nashua R. R., thence westerly by land of said railroad one hundred and eight feet. This was Bickford's south line, forty feet from the first prison yard. This deed is dated April 2, 1886. The land is located on the west side of Lincoln Street.

Therefore, by measuring forty feet from that stone monument southerly on the west line of the street, you will be at the northeast corner of the original jail yard deeded by Thomas Stearnes to Worcester County in 1731-2, or by measuring thirty-five feet, you will be at the northeast corner of the jail yard as it was after the deed from Luke Brown to Worcester County in 1754.

In February, 1731-2, the Sessions of Court ordered the building of the first jail. It was to be forty-one feet long and eighteen feet broad. One end was to be "finished off after the usual manner of dwelling-houses."

The prison part was to be eighteen feet square with a stone dungeon underneath.

It was built in 1733.

To reach this definite information involved the examination of many deeds. I have referred only to those most important in my endeavor to give you as clear and concise a statement of the steps which finally led to the solution of Mr. Chase's question, viz.: the location of the first jail in Worcester County.

From the Stearnes' deed of the Prison lot to Stephen Salisbury's deed giving the course of the south line of Bickford's land was 116 years; to the deed of the Bliss estate locating the stone monument 155 years. These show how persistent one must be in trying to locate today the bounds of early conveyances.

In regard to the *second* jail I have made no detailed search to determine its exact location.

It was, however, situated on the west side of Lincoln Street, south of the first jail, but not adjoining, and north of Lincoln Square.

I judge that the addition of five feet north on Lincoln Street and twenty feet west on the old jail yard by Brown's deed May 1, 1754, did not meet the requirements of the County; for in Book 49, page 403, I find a deed dated August 28, 1754, from Luke Brown which states that in "consideration of a Tract of Land conveyed to me in Worcester aforesaid whereon ye old Goal stands fifty-five feet long and forty feet wide by William Richardson of Lancaster, John

Chandler, Jun<sup>r</sup> of Worcester Esq. J. James Putnam of s<sup>d</sup> Worcester Gentleman all in said County a Committee appointed by y<sup>e</sup> Court of General Sessions of y<sup>e</sup> Peace for s<sup>d</sup> County of Worcester for disposing of y<sup>e</sup> old goal and the Land whereon it stands and for purchasing a Tract of Land whereon to erect a new Goal

“Now whereas y<sup>e</sup> Committee aforesaid have released to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Luke Brown y<sup>e</sup> premises afors<sup>d</sup> and in Consideration thereof I have bargained sold and convey<sup>d</sup> and by these Presents do bargain sell and Convey unto them y<sup>e</sup> Committee afores<sup>d</sup> and for y<sup>e</sup> Use and Benefit of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> County of Worcester to erect a goal on a certain Tract of Land with a small House thereon situated at y<sup>e</sup> South End of my dwelling House to begin ten Feet Southerly of my s<sup>d</sup> House and to run Southerly and bounded Easterly on y<sup>e</sup> County Road eighty three Feet to y<sup>e</sup> Corner of y<sup>e</sup> Board Fence then turns West-erly and runs Thirty Feet to a Rail Fence then runs Northerly and bounds Westerly on y<sup>e</sup> Land of y<sup>e</sup> Heirs of Cornelius Waldo Ninety Feet to a little Cherry Tree marked and then runs Easterly Seventy Feet to y<sup>e</sup> Corner first mentioned with Liberty of passing on y<sup>e</sup> ten Feet South of my House and also y<sup>e</sup> Liberty of the well standing on my other Land to pass and repass as need may require.”

The second jail was built in 1754 or 1755, thirty-eight feet long, and twenty-eight feet wide, and seven-foot studs.

The south end was “studded with oak joists six inches square, set five inches apart, and filled with stone and mortar.”

The deed from the Committee to Luke Brown of the old Goal and yard sixty feet square is dated May 11, 1758, recorded in Book 49, page 402. It states that the new goal had been erected.

A Commission for the County sold the second jail lot to Isaiah Thomas on December 10, 1789. See Book 118, page 474.

The *third* jail was situated on the south side of Lincoln Square. It may interest you to have me read the Act of the Legislature which made this possible. It is recorded in Book 100, page 612.

“Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the House of Representatives, Feb. 14, 1785, on Petition of the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of Peace begun and holden at Worcester on the 5th day of December 1784, praying for a grant of the land hereinafter described together with the privileges hereafter mentioned for purpose of erecting and accommodating a public County goal:

“RESOLVED that a certain piece of land in Worcester aforesaid

lately owned by John Chandler, Esq., confiscated to the use of this Commonwealth, bounded as follows: beginning at Timothy Bigelow's corner by the County road by the stream called Swift River, thence southerly on said Bigelow fourteen rods to a Black Alder, thence east eight rods to a stake and stones, thence north sixteen rods to a post in a garden fence ten feet east of a well by said road, thence west by said road thirteen rods to the first bound, with the privilege of making and keeping open a Canal from the Goal thereon to be erected to the stream aforesaid, extending south about eight rods from the land described, be and hereby granted to the County of Worcester for the sole purpose of erecting and accommodating a public Goal in said County.

SAMUEL A. OTIS, *Spkr.*

In Senate Feb. 14, 1785

SAMUEL ADAMS, *President*

Approved, THOMAS CUTTING

True Copy Attest, JOHN AVERY JUN<sup>R</sup>.

*Secretary.*"

The third jail, according to Mr. Wall, was completed September 4, 1788. It was sixty-four by thirty-two feet, three stories high, built of stone.

A house for the jailor was built on the same lot, east of the jail building.

This resolve only granted to the County the use of this land for the sole purpose of erecting and maintaining a public jail.

On January 17, 1834, the Commonwealth by a resolve granted and conveyed unto the Inhabitants of the County of Worcester "all right, title, and interest which the said Commonwealth now has or may have in and unto a certain tract of land situated in the town of Worcester, the use of which was granted to said Inhabitants by virtue of a Resolve passed February 14, 1785, for the purpose of creating and accommodating a public county goal. And the County Commissioners aforesaid are authorized to dispose of the same by public auction or otherwise."

On November 5, 1834, the County Commissioners sold the third jail property to Ashael Bellows. See Book 301, page 585.

This completes my research on the first, second, and third jails in Worcester County.

As I said before, I made the research on the first jail at the request of my friend, Mr. Chase. As he never made any use of it in his writings, I take pleasure in presenting it to this Society in the hope that it may be of benefit to others asking for the same information.

In closing my report to Mr. Chase, I said: "I wish to thank you for calling this to my attention, as it is the kind of a problem which I delight to study, and I assure you that it has given me real pleasure to make the search." I extend to the Society the same sentiments.



## WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report of the Executive Director for  
the Year May 31, 1934, to June 1, 1935

The present year was eventful in the life of the Society in that Professor U. Waldo Cutler, for many years the Executive Director, felt obliged to resign. The Society was fortunate, however, in being able to retain his services in an advisory capacity when he accepted the post of Executive Director Emeritus. The great work of Mr. Cutler in bringing the museum to its present organized state, his unique acquaintance with its contents, and his wide knowledge of Worcester and its people place him in a class by himself, and render his present advice of inestimable value.

The activities of a society such as ours do not vary greatly from year to year but their value to the community is positive and their effect is constructive in many ways. During the present year we have had 2324 visitors who represented a variety of interests and wide geographical distribution. While the average number per day is only about ten, there are occasional days when as many as forty will visit us, and there was one day when but a single visitor came in. Frequently, as in this case, the lone visitor may prove far more interesting than a larger group, due to his special interests and unusual or technical knowledge, which provides a distinct contribution. Of the groups who visit us, the greater number are from classes in history in the local schools and selected groups from city clubs. Their visits have been enlivened by giving them lists of objects to search for which are widely distributed in the museum, thus widening their knowledge of our exhibits, and adding a competitive factor to their interest. It has proved a very satisfactory method of dealing with organized groups. Many of our younger visitors represent the varied racial strains found in a city such as ours, and it is with them that some of the Society's most valuable work is done in inculcating those lessons of citizenship so constantly essential in a republic. Lone visitors from widely distributed geographical areas visit the museum for special purposes or to see individual exhibits of which they may have heard. It is pleasant to know that our Society is well and favorably known so widely.

The Society is in constant receipt of letters of inquiry from individuals and organizations throughout the country on a great variety

of historical subjects. In some cases they connect up with our own exhibits in a most interesting way and show how the pioneers of Worcester and New England have spread themselves to the farthest corners of the country, yet retaining frequently a very distinct pride in the section of their origin.

Gifts to the Society continue to be received in number and variety. During the year, the museum has been enriched by seventy-one gifts, which are for the most part now on exhibition. The library has received one hundred and four additions to its shelves. These donations have been gratefully acknowledged and it is regretted that space here forbids the public acknowledgment they so well deserve.

The needs of the Society in common with those of others in the same field are, as always, more money and more space. A larger, finer, fireproof building with a proper endowment is the ideal we ever seek. But until that happy state arrives, we are constantly grateful to those who love and give, and to whose generosity we owe the present riches we now enjoy. And this Society is unusually rich in the variety and value of its exhibits, the rarity of its manuscripts and the uniqueness of its special objects of local historical value. It is a society of which its members may well be proud and which the municipality should cherish.

GEORGE I. CROSS













The  
Worcester Historical Society  
Publications

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 2

September, 1937

Published by  
The Worcester Historical Society  
Worcester, Massachusetts



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## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1937-1938

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*Vice-Presidents* . . . . . { ZELOTES W. COOMBS  
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*Finance Committee* . . . . . { CHANDLER BULLOCK  
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FRANK COLEGROVE, *Librarian*

KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant*  
*in Museum and Library*

WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to Director*

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## FIFTY YEARS OF THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Prof. U. Waldo Cutler, January 16, 1925

The year 1875 was a good time for the starting of an enterprise like ours. The hundredth anniversary of the stirring events that ushered in the Revolution was in the mind of everyone. Preparations for the Philadelphia celebration of the Declaration of Independence were hopefully under way. While looking backward toward the beginnings of American institutions, all good citizens were then also looking forward to better times to follow the depression after the Civil War. No wonder that men of vision in Worcester were confident that the time had come for more active study of local history and for a more orderly preservation of memorials in some more definite and popular way than had yet been attempted.

January 23rd, 1925, is the fiftieth anniversary of the meeting at 1 Lincoln Place, the home of Samuel E. Staples, when four men agreed that the Worcester Historical Society must be. That small framed photograph of Samuel E. Staples, Franklin P. Rice, Richard O'Flynn, and John G. Smith, with autographs affixed, hanging in the Society's office at Armory Square, grows more and more significant as these anniversaries of our beginning as an organization come around. These were all plain men, to whom life had brought no special opportunity or prestige. One, according to the Directory of that year, was an "agent," whatever that word may signify; another was a "student," afterward known as a printer and compiler of books; the third was a grocer, with his residence back of or over the shop; the fourth was a repairer and painter of furniture, with special access to the piles of old junk collected in that far-off time when there were no Jew old-clothes men or Salvation Army Industrial Home, or rummage sale to relieve congestion in the family attic. All four had antiquarian instincts and the collector's tastes and habits; all four were thoughtful and public spirited. Under their initiative and that of those who very soon joined them, the Library, the Museum, the carefully prepared papers upon important historical subjects, as read at regularly

conducted meetings, the long series of Society publications, followed as a matter of course.

The meetings were at first all held in the homes of the members, thus giving opportunity for knowing one another's growing private libraries and for strengthening the sense of fellowship in their new and zestful adventure in scholarly research. Real study together was their earnest purpose in entering upon this new enterprise. The membership of the Society was small, because made up of men who were able and willing to contribute toward what was thought of as its really studious purpose. At the end of the first year, the original membership of four had grown only to twelve. A little more than two years after that first meeting, that is in 1877, when the Society became legally incorporated, there were only 37 charter members, of whom, I think, two are still living, Mr. Crane and Mr. Charles R. Johnson.

Later in the year of incorporation headquarters were hired over the Worcester Bank, 11 Foster St., in a building that has given shelter to other infant institutions than our own. There the collections increased more rapidly than the membership. Even before being permanently located, a library of 1000 books and 1500 pamphlets had been gathered, and there were the beginnings of a museum. In that same eventful year, 1877, the Society's seal was adopted and the publishing of Proceedings was formally voted, the cost to be met by an assessment of \$3 per member, which was later increased to \$5. The first formal paper had been read before the Society on May 2nd, 1876, by Charles R. Johnson, presumably in the home of the president, upon the subject, "Vestiges of Ancient American Civilization." Would the eye-minded people of fifty years later listen through the reading of a study upon such a topic as this—a study that in its printed form covers eight closely printed pages? In those days there was in Worcester no extensive Indian collection from which to illustrate the matter of the paper. Mr. Crane's first paper, on genealogy, read four months later, brought his hearers down more nearly to date and place than did Mr. Johnson's; and his second, read March 5th, 1878, on "The Lumber Business in Worcester," was distinctly local and came down to the present day; but it was long enough to occupy two meetings, and present-day audiences are not as well endowed with patience under fire of oratory as were the members of fifty years



ago. To mention more of even the more important papers read at the meetings of those earlier years and down the decades to those presented at our meeting last October would be an intrusion upon the time of this occasion. They have, many of them, been a real contribution to the higher interests of Worcester. Down to 1910 they were printed in the Proceedings, and in published form are still being sent for, often from far across the Continent. The sale of these documents is not an inconsiderable source of income even now, and, if funds had not been lacking for the continuance of the series beyond the last publication of fifteen years ago, the permanent life and welfare of Worcester would have been distinctly the gainer. Mr. Crane's papers are numerous, preserved in this form for future days. Others whose names appear prominently as writers under the stimulus of our Society are Henry M. Smith, Alfred S. Roe, Clark Jillson, Rev. Albert Tyler, John C. Crane, Henry M. Wheeler, Rev. George Allen, and many, many more that have been honored in their time. The plan has been entered upon, but not yet fully carried out, of bringing together copies of the Crane papers and binding them up into one memorial volume as a concise suggestion to future generations of the really extensive contributions to this Society from the pen of this third president—contributions in this particular department alone, where he liked best to work. His tangible donations as listed among the early accessions, and his gifts in money during his years of prosperity should not be overlooked as we review the annals of an institution of which for many years he was a large part. For eleven years, beginning with 1881, and again for two years from 1900 to 1902, he as President dominated its policies. For about sixteen years, beginning with 1903, he held the office of librarian with much satisfaction to the organization as well as to himself. It is safe to say that for forty of our fifty years his influence was stronger than that of any other member in determining its policy and in furthering its administration. This recognition is due him as he now rests in the retirement of old age.

The first Historical Field Day was held June 5th, 1880, with Oxford and the old Huguenot fort as the objective point. With the exception of a very few years during the World War, these excursions have been an annual event, covering many towns of the County, and in some years going beyond the county or even the state.

An event of much significance in this history was the coming of Thomas A. Dickinson into the office of librarian in 1883, while Mr. Crane was still president. His antiquarian instincts, combined with mechanical skill and devotion to the Society's interests, made his nineteen years of service memorable, particularly in setting up and developing the Museum and the Library.

The tenth anniversary of the founding of the Society was observed with much enthusiasm and circumstance, the formal exercises being held in the Old South Church on the Common and the reception and banquet at the Bay State Hotel. The occasional address was given by Rev. Carlton A. Staples, of Lexington—a descendant of an old Worcester County family. Mr. Roe was toastmaster at the banquet. Music was furnished by a local quartet, of which Charles I. Rice was a member. Eben Francis Thompson, who had been received into membership by special vote of the Society because he was not of age, was one of the ushers for the occasion; Herbert Wesby was the other. The festivities lasted, according to the records, till 12:30 o'clock, a fact that bears witness to the spirit that prevailed in that early stage of our history and that primitive stage of civilization before the radio had taught late hours and high lighting bills. The twenty-fifth anniversary was no less elaborately commemorated on January 23, 1900, with a banquet in Salisbury Hall, and Joseph H. Walker, Dr. Mendenhall, Miss Bacon of the neighboring Woman's Club, Charles G. Washburn, Stephen Salisbury, and others, as speakers.

In 1883 the George Allen Library was obtained by purchase, the funds being furnished by a group of moneyed friends of our work, an acquisition that gave our library real standing among institutions of its sort. The Downes collections, bequeathed to us in 1886, brought in many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore, as well as a rare collection of almanacs. By smaller accretions, the Library has been further built up since then into something that, when made organic and serviceable through Mr. Colegrove's classification and orderly shelving, will be worth attention, not alone from Worcester and its county, but from a far wider public. Of this library, of course, the large and important collection of manuscripts, broadsides and maps form an exceedingly valuable part as organized and listed by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln. Allied with the library, the collection of Worcester pictures—daguerreo-

types, lithographs, portraits, photographs, gathered through the years, has preserved from oblivion faces and street scenes and home associations that money could not buy, if once they had been lost.

More, perhaps, than in any other way the history of the Society has been recording itself through the growing museum. This ought to be so. In library and in publication we are in danger of duplicating the efforts of other organizations in our city. Our museum, however, is unique. The recent conference here of the New England Branch of the National Association of Museums ought to have made clear to Worcester people what is being widely recognized elsewhere, that the museum idea as applied to history and industrial life, as well as to art, is very important in any well-planned educational system. In spite of the activities of antiquers and private collectors with large resources, our museum has grown into a position of importance among museum people from away, who from time to time pay us visits and leave compliments behind them.

Other people who deserve special mention as organizers and benefactors are Richard O'Flynn, already named among the four founders, whose grandson we tonight welcome into active membership; George Sumner, repeatedly a vice-president and a constant contributor to our collections; Frank E. Williamson, treasurer from 1904 till his death in 1919, and many more, notably William F. Abbott, also a pioneer member, and Walter Davidson, who for thirty-three years has been and still is the secretary, his term having begun with the first meeting in the new and permanent headquarters completed in the fall of 1891.

An innovation of importance was made during the presidency of Mr. Hutchins—the extending to women of the privileges and responsibilities of membership. Since then they have contributed greatly toward the efficiency of our working force.

This leads me to allude to those men and women of generosity or wealth—generosity and wealth—who, by donation and bequest have made possible the substantial building, free from debt, that has served as the Society's home for a generation and who have provided the small invested fund without the income of which even our present modest existence would be impossible—Messrs. Salisbury (whose gifts total \$49,375) Ely, Dodge, Rice, Curtis, Hadwen, Paine, Woodward, Williamson, and Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Wetherell, Miss Katherine Allen, and others.

Even the list of presidents who have steadied and furthered our undertakings down this half century is significant of the character maintained by our society: Samuel E. Staples, Clark Jillson, Ellery B. Crane, B. W. Potter, Lyman A. Ely, F. L. Hutchins, Mander Maynard, Charles T. Tatman, James Green, George R. Stobbs, and William Woodward, not stopping to mention by name the one to whom has been assigned the task of leading you in this dash down the decades at the rate of five years a minute.

The change of name from Society of Antiquity to Historical Society, accomplished in 1919, after years of fitful and sometimes heated discussion, may prove to have been an epoch-making event. Certainly the raising of the special funds would be recognized as such—the funds for the great task of renovating the building and rescuing the collections from chaos. Printed matter unselected and unclassified is only paper stock. Historical relies, unarranged and unmarked, are junk. The last six rather feverish years of the Worcester Historical Society constitute what may be called the Period of Systematization. The seven years preceding this were perhaps the Period of Struggle between Life and Death. Still earlier came the Period of Decline, from 1900 to 1912. From 1885 to 1900 was the Period of Rising Hope and Confidence, preceded by those first ten years, the Period of Enthusiastic Beginnings. Such vicissitudes as these we share with most institutions. The second generation of men responsible for an enterprise often take their duties rather lightly. There is new hope in the third generation that a noble idea may be handed on, perhaps in a revised and enlarged edition. Hawthorne's expression about completing creation by interpreting it applies to our Society in its present stage of development. Fifty years ago it was created through the devotion and enthusiasm of those four men who met together of an evening on Lincoln Place, and the devotion and zeal of their supporters whom they gathered about them. For us of the third generation it remains to complete their task by making their work practically available and intelligible to those of still later days who will enter into their labors.



## THE LAST FIFTY YEARS OF THE ART LIFE OF WORCESTER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Read before the Historical Society  
by Miss Jeanie Lea Southwick, October 10, 1935

In the Worcester Directory for 1858 we find many interesting notices among the advertisements of the educational advantages offered the general public in this City at that date, many of them with illustrations.

There is one whole page given to the "Worcester School of Design and Academy of Fine Arts" established in Clark's Block, with a picture of the building, and a casual note to the effect that this block "the largest and most important building" in the City was recently built. The Academy furthermore had a Gallery of Paintings to which citizens and strangers visiting the city "were cordially invited."

This is signed by M. Imogene Robinson and Elizabeth J. Gardner, Principal. Across the front of the building is a long sign with the title of the School on it. Did anyone present ever hear of this Institute or know either of the young ladies? The building still stands and is now known as "The Walker Building." A circular for the years 1857-58 gives us more particulars. Prof. James Bushee is the head instructor, Miss Robinson one of the teachers, her subjects being "drawing, painting, design and ornamental branches," and there was a Mr. E. S. Nason, a teacher of music. This last name appears also on the front of the building, but in larger letters as it is comparatively a short sign, extending over only three windows.

The references are of the best: headed by Dr. Alonzo Hill.

The coming of Elizabeth Gardner, a young woman of Exeter, N. H., hardly out of her teens was not of sufficient importance to cause anything more than her name to appear. She might be included with those "who also ran."

However, in spite of the glowing circular, Miss Robinson and Miss Gardner, with the opening of the Civil War, within a short time, vanished from the scene. I have told you all I have been able to find about these ladies at this time except that they both



boarded at a nice boarding house on Main Street near Lincoln Square where H. G. O. Blake lived for many years. (His name was on the circular.) Miss Robinson probably married or died, for I could find nothing further about her, but please remember Miss Gardner for she will be spoken of again.

When I graduated in 1871 from the High School in Worcester, I had no notion of what I was to do next. Circumstances made it imperative for me to earn my living and so I went within a few days to the Court House to be a clerk in the office of my mother's cousin, Charles A. Chase, the father of Mrs. Hovey Gage. As a child I had been alone living on my grandfather Southwick's farm in Worcester.

One day my mother opened a box of odds and ends among her household effects that were all stored in my grandfather's attic and among the papers was an old drawing book such as young ladies in those days filled with nice pencil sketches made from lithographs, as part of the process of a "finishing" education. I took possession of it at once and it proved a very acceptable acquisition to employ my time with on rainy days. In the country there was little for a child to do who was all alone.

Now again I was to be more or less alone at the Court House, for Mr. Chase wanted me to "keep house" for him while he was otherwise employed outside his office as County Treasurer. After two or three years of this inaction I had one afternoon in the week for my own and having seen some water color paintings by Miss Fanny Clark I was insistent that I wanted to take lessons of her. I knew I could do it if I had the chance to try. I had fallen heir to a fine box of paints and I started out to paint flowers in water-colors without a lesson in drawing!

Miss Clark was a sister of Mrs. Henry H. Chamberlin and they lived in a very pleasant house on Hammond Street nearly opposite Dr. Sargent's house after it was moved from Nobility Hill.

There was in those days an art store on Main Street in the Lincoln House Block kept by Augustus E. Peck, who in 1858 was an "auctioneer." At that time, in the 1870's, he had become a minister of fine arts. I loved to consider the things that were displayed in his windows. The only one of them all that I remember is a painting on pale green satin of pink and white apple blossoms. It was painted by Miss Fanny Clark and mounted as a fire screen

and sent to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia where I saw it and was quite sure it was one of the best paintings in the whole show.

I had plenty of time with nothing much to do at the Court House and my few lessons with Miss Clark gave me the instruction necessary to start work for myself. So I made all kinds of duds which Mr. Peck was glad to show in his window and also to sell. My most popular work of that period was made with the important figures of birch bark with a water-color background. It was called, "What are the wild waves saying, Sister dear?"

Early in the '70's Mrs. Anna C. Freeland appeared in Worcester and like those other two earlier ladies she thought Worcester was a fine place to settle for an art centre. She had a small studio about as big as a thimble over the hardware store at the corner of Pearl and Main Streets. Kinnicutt and Co., with the entrance on Pearl Street, was where she started. I was invited one evening there to talk of an association of art lovers in Worcester, which it was hoped might be formed. We were all most enthusiastic and so "The Art Students' Club" came into existence, thanks to Mrs. Freeland's indomitable will and persistence, never being balked in what she set out to do.

We had some pleasant rooms in the Worcester Fire Ins. block, opposite Elm Street. Of late years the Bohemian Club has lived there. The Club flourished from its start. The two larger rooms were well filled with paintings for our annual show, and we had one evening a week to work from a model.

When Mr. J. H. Walker bought Clark's block, Mrs. Freeland saw her chance, and arrangements were made for a large room with two smaller ones to be put in order for our club. This was in the southeast corner on the top floor while Mrs. Freeland herself had a large studio and sleeping room on the southeast corner. There we lived for twenty years or more a very happy family. We all hoped for an art museum eventually. Mrs. Freeland was never tired of talking about it. She was an excellent teacher and had large classes. Incidentally, she did very good work herself.

We had occasional exhibitions of outside workers.—I remember fine work shown by John A. Breck not long after his return from European study, an exhibition of pencil sketches by Charles Herbert Woodbury, and also one of water-colors by Lucy A. Conant.

It was hoped after the Art Museum was thoroughly organized and opened to the public that similar exhibitions would be held there, but these were not forthcoming. Mrs. Freeland, a sister of the homeopathic physician, Dr. Chamberlin, was born in London, N. H., July 28, 1837. Her mother Mary Ann Baker was a cousin of Mary Baker Eddy. Mrs. Freeland, after her marriage, settled in Three Oaks, Michigan, and while there took lessons of Frederick Church, who advised her to go to Paris for instruction. She spent a year in Europe, much of the time in a Julian studio in Paris before coming to Worcester. While living here, she devoted herself in the summers to her studio in Jackson, New Hampshire, where she painted animals. Much of her work was sold. Thomas W. Lawson was one of her patrons and many of her paintings are to be found in Boston, Fitchburg and Worcester.

Let us go back to the very important step taken by the City in the early '70's. Drawing was introduced into the Public Schools of the City and in order to give the teachers a slight knowledge of its principles an evening class in drawing was opened in the two rooms in the attic of the old High School building on Walnut Street. Walter S. Perry was teacher of drawing in the day schools, and then whom to get for the evening classes, was a terrible question, finally solved by employing George E. Gladwin, who had come to Worcester to teach drawing at the Polytechnic Institute.

This gave me my introduction to Mr. Gladwin. He was a very nervous little man trying to do his level best, but with limited knowledge. I spent one winter pegging away at putting something on paper to look like the white plaster casts of parts of the human anatomy, in order to fit myself to be allowed to try a cast of one or two apples and leaves. It was very hard work for we used crayons which could not be erased, and so we had to struggle. A young lady who spent the whole time for 20 weeks managed to make a perfect reproduction of the apples, much to Mr. Gladwin's delight. She was his star pupil. I alas! made a ghastly failure of the huge mouth, ears, eyes and nose taken from the beautiful statue of David by Michel Angelo, in the Accadèmia di Belle Arti in Florence.

I can think of nothing more calculated to quench all ardor for the study of the fine arts than to place a huge reproduction of a part of a face in front of one to make a careful drawing from. I

wanted something different. So in the fall of the next year I started out to see if I could get into the Normal Art School in Boston, which of course had to be opened for the coming work to be taught in drawing in the public schools.

I passed the entrance examination with credit, but decided I wanted a different kind of work and was shortly enrolled with those at the Boston Art Museum School. So successful was the work of my first year there that I made application to the Superintendent of Schools in Worcester, for a chance to teach in the Evening Drawing School, if an assistant were needed. Mr. Gladwin had retired and a young man from Boston had taken the place. Later I learned that as I walked out of the Superintendent's office this young man walked in to ask for some one to help him, and within 24 hours of my application I was notified that I was to go that evening and begin work! I taught there four evenings a week through the winter months till 1888 when I, at a five minutes' notice, followed Mr. Walter S. Perry as supervisor of drawing in the Worcester schools. Mr. Perry went to Brooklyn to help start the Pratt Institute. He was so successful that he remained there till he died. He was a specimen of a man who was practically owned by a corporation; the Prangs of Boston backed him in everything and he did all that he could for them in return.

He had brought their drawing books to Worcester, and used their pencils, erasers, et cetera. Mr. A. P. Marble, our Worcester superintendent, told me he wanted some one at the head of the drawing, with no "entangling alliances," so I was practically a free lance in my school work. It took them more than ten years to get rid of me. Had I been under their thumb my battles would have been fought for me. As it was, I went under, and at the end of the century I stood alone.

Other things developed with great rapidity in those days. Photography took the place of hand-work. Anyone could punch a catch on a camera and have a snapshot of a favorite spot, and at one time it seemed as though everyone had a camera.

Mr. Gladwin came to our Art Students' Meetings and worked diligently. At one time he was President of the Association. Once when we were working from a model, I was telling those about me of a little affair I was arranging at my church, the First Unitarian, which had recently built up the vestry another story



and made at one end of the room a nice little stage. The poem of "The Blind Girl of Castel Cuillèe," by Longfellow, was the subject. Col. E. B. Glasgow had kindly consented to read the poem; Mr. Walter Kennedy was to furnish the music, but whom was I to get for the Blind Girl? In the end Miss Mary Louise Trumbull Cogswell kindly consented to take the part. The affair was a very delightful success, and I have wondered many times since that some one of "today" did not try it again. Mr. Gladwin was much interested and said he thought it could be given in his church. I explained the whole thing to him and said, "between the scenes when the curtain was down"—"Curtain," said Mr. Gladwin, "Curtain? Oh no! We could not have anything with a curtain—in the church—Oh no!" I never saw him so upset as he was that night.

As I read the list of references for the Young Ladies' Institute beginning with Dr. Alonzo Hill, Unitarian minister, Dr. Seth Sweetser, Mr. Gladwin's pastor, I wondered what Dr. Sweetser would say today to a Methodist church recently built having a much more elaborate stage with all the fixings, much more than our little Unitarian stage had.

Some friend of Mr. Gladwin invited him in the '80's to go to Florida. He had taken a previous visit one summer to Labrador, as one can see from a small collection of pen-and-ink drawings in a portfolio at the library. On his return from Florida he wanted me to see the work he had accomplished. He showed me a number of oil paintings of oranges hanging among their leaves on the trees and I was glad to find the color of them all excellent. Mr. Gladwin seemed much pleased at my comments. In his later years after leaving the Tech he sketched private houses and I dare say many of you know of some of these. He was an excellent draughtsman and a very good man.

In the '70's an Englishman, a civil engineer, was in Worcester for a few years, Mr. S. P. R. Triscott. I always fancied that Mr. McClure was one of his satellites, but I never met him. He at least put the island of Monhegan on the map for one of his first summers he took Mr. McClure with him for his summer holiday, and we saw these sketches occasionally at our Art Students' Club exhibitions. In my drawing class there was one young man with an unusual ability and a very steady worker, Mr. Frank J. Darrah. I had



him all ticketed to succeed me when I gave up my evening teaching. Still later he was my assistant in the City School work, but the baleful influence which put me out then was too strong for Mr. Darrah to even try for the position so it was not till the man who succeeded me died that Mr. Darrah finally received this appointment.

Another acquisition for Worcester was in the late '80's when Dr. Getchell married Miss Edith Loring Pierce and brought her to Worcester, a bride. Mrs. Getchell had already made her mark in the art world as an etcher of note, and was at once received here as a great acquisition. It is owing to her strenuous work in connection with Mrs. Buffington's interest that gave us the Art Museum School as it is in the Salisbury House today. For three years it was a nip and tuck problem with the directors of the Museum whether it was going to pay to keep the school going. Mr. Salisbury's home provided a place for it and both Dr. Merriman, the President of the Museum, and Dr. Garver, who succeeded him, were anxious for it to go on, and so it has continued and flourished. In Japan where all school children start with the brush and India ink and have for centuries, they understand the limits of human nature better. The Minister of Fine Arts told me one day when speaking of their great painter of that particular era, Seiho Takaouchi, that he was about to retire; he continued, "We shall miss him, there is no one in sight to take his place and there won't be for another sixty years. It is so everywhere. The best we can do for our school is to give youth its chance, and see what he makes of himself."

In the '80's Mr. and Mrs. Lucius J. Knowles settled in Worcester and were devoted to the Fine Arts. They had a small well-lighted gallery in their house which was near the corner of May Street on Main and they entertained whenever there was a new painting, for instance, and at other times. Mrs. Freeland had great hopes in that vicinity but alas! like many another hope it was not fulfilled. Mr. and Mrs. Knowles both died and they left, to be sure, a small fund for the advancement of art. This is administered by a company of gentlemen called the St. Wulstan Society and so far as I know the results are to their mind.

In the '80's or '90's, Rev. Edward H. Hall, the minister of the First Unitarian Church, had a delightful class once a week in the vestry of the Church. The History of Fine Arts was the subject

and it was greatly enriched by the new carbon photographs of the Old Masters which were imported from Florence and used as a basis for Mr. Hall's talks. Later his successor, Dr. Garver, had a similar class with blue prints of sculptures in European galleries.

Then came in the late '90's Mr. Salisbury's fine gift of plenty of money to build an Art Museum. This institution has followed the wise plan of not spending what it had not got and so today there is no struggle in regard to funds.

In the late '60's, Mr. Hunt of Boston returned from abroad and at once had a large school of young ladies. Miss Helen Knowlton of Worcester went to Boston and shortly became a leader in his class so that she took over the class when given up by Mr. Hunt.

There were several of the pupils who were well known from their work in after years. For instance, Mrs. Whitman designed and worked in colored glass. Mrs. Merriman painted portraits, Miss Bartol, Miss Lizzy Green and a few others also continued to paint and sent their works to exhibitions. Miss Lizzy Green's mother was the daughter of Abijah Bigelow who lived on Front Street just across from the Timothy Bigelow Monument on the Common. There were 3 or 4 unmarried daughters lived there well into the '70's. Miss Lizzy, as a child, I knew quite well as she was an intimate friend of Miss Sarah F. Earle, a younger sister of my mother's. Once, on a walk with my aunt, Miss Lizzy gathered an armful of cat-tails and painted a decorative panel which she gave to my aunt. This I gave to the Public Library after my aunt's death some 15 years ago; so at least one of Lizzy Bigelow's paintings is in Worcester.

Miss Knowlton taught and also painted portraits. There are a number of these in Worcester and I think our Museum has one or more. The portrait she made of Mr. Hunt went to the Art Museum. It was one of her best works. Still no artist of note came to Worcester and settled down to live here. A charming portrait of Mrs. Homer Gage was made in the '90's by Mr. Alexander of New York, and the itinerant portrait painter has always done things of that sort now and then. You must remember I am not telling of the art work after 1900.

In 1892 I made my third trip to Europe and settled down for the summer at Crécy-en Bris Sur Marne, a most delightful little walled city, with 99 towers in its walls, originally on the road to

Strassbourg, 18 miles from Paris in an easterly direction. The moat was now a grassy, slightly sunken parkway where the women of the town met with their needle work in the afternoons. The advent of 50 or more lively young Americans was an event both to the Americans and to the native inhabitants and each learned a lot from the others.

We made up little parties on Sundays to visit Paris, especially when the large exhibitions were on. One day at the Salon I saw Mons. Bouguereau and with him a pleasant looking lady who seemed to be rather intimate. I asked if it were his wife and was told "no." A young man with me said in a low tone to me, "She ought to be."

Later I was told that the lady was a Miss Gardner from America—his best and favorite pupil. They decided to be married—but they reckoned without their host, so to speak, for marriage is an important function in French eyes and a man must have his mother's consent if she is living. Madame Bouguereau flatly refused to give it. She caused her son and the lady of his affections to wait 20 years for her to die. They were married, however, finally and had a few years of happy married life.

When Miss Gardner in the early '60's went to Paris she discovered to her dismay that the Julian Studios where she wished to study took no women students. Not to be daunted, however, this New England young woman dressed as a boy, had her hair cut and thus got in. Bouguereau was her critic and from the start was much interested in her work. He was so kind, invited her to his studio, etc., that she decided to tell him her story. He said, "the order must be changed." When it was done, Elizabeth Gardner had the honor to be enrolled as the first woman pupil in a Julian class. Her painting was naturally similar in style to Bouguereau's with perhaps a little more of the home quality. She was decorated by the French government, very likely the wires were pulled to get it by Bouguereau, for there is as much manipulation of a political matter over there as here.

Later in the '90's one afternoon, my mother's cousin, Miss Lucy Chase, came to call and she produced from her capacious bag a photograph, cabinet size, which she told me she thought I would like to have. It was of a painting by Elizabeth J. Gardner, her salon picture of that year and she had written on it, "To my dear

friend, Miss Lucie Chase of Worcester, U.S.A., with the affectionate regards of Elizabeth J. Gardner'' and the date which I think was in the '80's.

Miss Gardner was married to Bouguereau in 1896 and she died in 1905, 50 years of age. They waited 20 years before Madame Bouguereau, Sa Mère, died. Bouguereau was 12 years the senior of the wife.

In 1881 it was rumored among the art students of the day in New York that the coming exhibition of water-colors at the National Academy was to be very rigidly selected in order to raise the standard. I was studying at the Art Student's League in New York at that time and decided I would be one of those daring to send a painting. Just before the opening night, it was said that over 1200 pictures were rejected and about 800 accepted. What was my joy to find I was with those accepted. From that day to this I have received their invitation to send and for about 40 years I always sent one or more pictures.

Two years later at the Boston Art Museum practically the same thing was said and again I sent, this time a flower piece and a landscape. The Chairman of the Jury was Augustus St. Gaudens. He had a fine list of assistants, T. H. Bartlett, J. F. Cole, F. Crowninshield, George Fuller, F. P. Vinton, A. Rotch, S. R. Kohler, etc. Both of my paintings were accepted and well hung. There were only half a dozen students' work in the exhibition with mine. At every exhibition, until I went to Japan, that they have had since, I have sent work which was always accepted. There has never been a committee, however, to equal that one at Boston. A number of names should be mentioned as of active workers in Worcester in one way or another in the last thirty years of the fifty I am talking about. Mr. Greenwood and Dr. Stevens were both beginning. J. Chauncy Lyford gave promise of good work. Mrs. Anne Wells Munger was also a beginner. Dr. Mason's work appeared occasionally, but his specialty was music. Fred McClure made attractive pictures in water-colors for a short time. The man whose work showed a most original strain was Charles Seabury Hale. Doubtless were he beginning today he would be a well-known illustrator. The Art Museum furnished a critic from Boston for a few years, but it was all merged in the School when it started full-fledged with a corps of leaders in Salisbury House. Those men who came



from Boston were Herman Dudley Murphy, Philip L. Hale, and De Camp. For a year or two I had a class in water-colors, the largest class in all, and Mrs. Buffington was one of my honored pupils.

Is it not true that

“We build the ladder by which we climb  
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,  
And we mount to its summit, round by round?”

In 1910, I took the year for a most extensive trip abroad, going to Europe, Asia and Africa. In the early summer I met Mr. and Mrs. Buffington and Miss Buffington at Bremen, and the four of us did northern Germany, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium quite thoroughly. I was in the capacity of a courier, guide, friend.

Two events remain in my mind of that trip as most unusual. I had been in most of the important galleries of Europe and had been struck with the number of headless marble figures. In the private collection of Herr M. C. Jacobson in Copenhagen, a wealthy brewer, I found the heads. Becoming interested in Greek Art, he had given the man who supplied him a standing order to get him anything “not too large” for his collection. The man, finding it easier to accumulate heads, sent him all he could get. There they were, each on its own standard, a charming array of Greek and Roman sculpture, most of the heads being starred in Baedeker, with many complete works of the Scandinavian sculptors as well. These were all arranged with great taste and I have a picture of the Ragnaroc Salon in my mind’s eye to this day. This name, Ragnaroc, is from the Scandinavian word, Ragnarok, which means “Twilight of the Gods.” I always intended to go to Denmark again, but the great war came when I was on my first trip to Japan and stopped my continued trip home through Europe, and I have never been there since, when it was convenient to go to Denmark.

The second event was in Holland. When at the Hague, Mrs. Buffington and I were invited to call on that great Dutch Painter, Josef Israels. He was a frail, fragile old man, sitting in a deep arm chair, attired in a voluminous dressing gown. We were admonished when going in not to stay too long so as to tire him. It seemed to me about five minutes when his attendant appeared at



the door. He waved her back and we were there a little longer. The room was dull. He said he had to have it so because of his eyes. There was but the one window and he sat back from its light. He spoke excellent English and with considerable fire. I looked back as we were leaving on the fragile old man enveloped in his huge dressing gown, leaning back in his chair, his eyes closed, but with the fire of youth still in them for a short time longer—a pleasant memory.

## CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENTS IN AMERICAN FOLK LORE

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Mr. Frank Colegrove, January 8, 1926

You are not to expect, from the caption of this paper, that I am undertaking to set before you with neat and scientific precision a list of characteristic elements which America has contributed to the folk lore of the world. What I do propose is no more than an amateurish excursion amid the bewildering mass of available material on this subject, rich in interest but not yet very well digested—with just enough of scientific inquiry to redeem the quest from purposelessness, to keep the mind alert to the significance of what is presented, and, finally, it is to be hoped, to whet the appetite for further investigation as occasion may serve in the future.

Our query will be, Has America made a distinctive contribution to folk lore, in the way of original theme or characteristic modification of older or common ideas? (And for the purposes of this paper I use the term America as referring to that portion of the North American continent now occupied by the United States exclusive of Alaska.) My object will be rather to commend the investigation to you, with some suggestions of method, than to stress any of my own tentative conclusions. Indeed the few conclusions which I shall venture to set forth, with the modesty becoming an amateur, will be no more than sufficient fully to illustrate my methods of inquiry. And if this paper shall impel any of you to enter upon this most interesting field of study, the writer will reckon not at all if the result of your explorations be the demolition of all his findings.

Now for a point of departure in our quest of characteristic *American* elements, I would invite you to go with me to the *Philippines*. (This is illustrative—to many of you an experience similar to mine would suggest other starting points.) From childhood the field of folk lore has been a most fascinating one to me, but it was only some fifteen years ago that my attention was engaged in any definite *comparative* study of the subject, and this came about through the fortuitous circumstance of my relation, by marriage, to a little sheaf of Philippine folk tales and myths gathered by two

of the teachers sent out there by our government, with the coöperation of their pupils, their parents, and native teachers, and later published in the *Journal of American Folk Lore*. One of these teachers, a cousin of mine, gave me a set of the papers, which I proceeded to read with much interest, but also with growing amazement. Conning over these collections with no particular idea in mind but a casual interest and curiosity, I noted with a certain pleasure now and again familiar portions and even practically whole tales, until I began to take some critical notice, for, as I soon perceived, here was not a body of locally characteristic folk lore with an occasional familiar strand of motive or treatment, but an amazing jumble of tales of other and widely separate regions, with the local threads, where any could be discerned at all, to be carefully sought out. While this is measurably true of many localities, it seems to me especially so of this one, and naturally, as this has long been the meeting point of widely diverse ethnic and linguistic streams, which have brought together a polyglot collection of folk lore material fairly bewildering at first sight, but almost inevitably challenging an attempt at analysis.

You will note that I have suggested the Philippines as a favorable point of departure not for the beginning of a study or acquaintance with folk lore, but for one fairly familiar with the subject in a general way, as most of you undoubtedly are, to begin a *comparative* study of it, with the special object of preparing yourselves to seek distinctive elements in the American material. The first step to the discovery of distinctive elements in the lore of any region is some acquaintance with elements which are too common to be localized at all, or are largely characteristic of some other locality than the one in question. That is, the method must be one of gradual elimination of foreign elements, and after all possible care has been taken in this process the residuum will still be more or less uncertain. Now in the Philippine collections you may find in small compass a remarkably comprehensive mixture of many types, all of which, however, you may be confident are not American, but which you are careful to eliminate in your home study—save for strongly characteristic American *variations* or *modifications*. If you wished to make a study of Chinese or Japanese folk lore, or that of the ruder tribes of Northern Africa, you would go at once to the collections of these, either on the ground or in the published

books—for these peoples have been but slightly pervious to outside influences. But how study Filipino characteristics, when you meet at every turn what clearly is not Philippine, but West European, Japanese, Indie, or what not, thinly disguised in local coloring? You are driven at once to a sorting of the material found among them, that is, to some study of *comparative* folk lore, and the results of this study, the ability to recognize many of the more strongly marked types, which would stand you in stead in sifting for Filipino characteristics, will be equally serviceable in the quest of American characteristics.

Let us glance at a few of these Philippine tales and superstitions—that is, as now found in the Philippines—with some attempt to see how far they are native, really Filipino. It will be necessary to be constantly on our guard, as the presence of much Spanish coloring, for example, is not sufficient in itself to determine the Spanish origin of a tale. In one of these of probable Malaysian, if not Philippine origin, the three heroines are named Isabel, Catalina and Maria, though their husbands are Juan Pusong (Tricky John), the Visayan hero, an ape, and a wildcat (disguised prince), and some of the incidents occur at the *hacienda* of the disguised prince. Nor, on the other hand, can the substitution of a man for the fox and an ape for the rabbit, or the use of a tortoise and a pond instead of the rabbit and the brier patch disguise our old friend the tar baby story.

In “Masoy and the Ape” we have the familiar incidents of the tar baby, used here to catch an ape who had been robbing the vegetable garden, and the same ape playing the rôle of “Puss in Boots” to perfection, and a hint of “Ali Baba,” with the coins sticking to the bottom of the borrowed measure. In the race between the Snail and the Deer, we have Aesop, and the “Tortoise and Rabbit” version as told by “Uncle Remus.” In *Ca Matsin* (the turtle) and *Ca Boo-ug* (the monkey), with considerable local color there is a curious mixture. In the denouement the monkeys, after suggesting various dire cruelties, finally, as the direst, throw the turtle into the pond. In the same tale, Botete, the sturgeon, is induced by the monkeys, in their pursuit of the turtle, to drink up the water of the pond; but the turtle, in turn, calls upon Salacsa-can, the kingfisher, for help, who pecks a hole in the sturgeon and lets out the flood, in which the monkeys are drowned (with apolo-

gies to the author of "Hiawatha"), and in another version the monkeys themselves try to drink the pond dry, and burst *à la* Aesop's frog.

Both to appreciate this mixture and to be prepared the more readily to recognize its elements as we meet them in our own country, we shall need some sort of a classification scheme. A fact or a specimen unrelated, thrown into the attic of our mind, is of little use and not likely to be available when wanted, but placed in an intelligible scheme it becomes part of our working library. So let me suggest, as suited to our present needs, a brief and simple analysis for the sorting, and if you do not care to fish with my alder branch and bent pin, you may elaborate the equipment to any extent desired. We are more concerned with the making of an inventory of these non-American themes, than in referring them accurately to their individual sources, although of course the more exact our scheme, the more readily shall we determine whether or not a given item belongs in it.

Suggested ethnic streams, with their proximate distribution and some slight characterization:

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Aryan (Indo-European)            | Persia, India, Western Europe.<br>Intellectual, versatile.  |
| Semitic                          | Arabia, Turkey, Northern Africa, Malaysia, Central Africa, Babylonia, Assyria.<br>Poetic, picturesque, dreamy, uxorious, cruel, crafty. |
| Mongolian, etc.<br>(Ural-Altaic) | China, Japan.<br>Archaic, childish, stoic.<br>(Japanese) Poetic, mystic, beauty-loving yet gruesome.                                    |
| Hamitic (Ethiopian, etc.)        | Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.<br>Childish, naive, prone to fetichism.   |

Many of the types are strongly marked, and even to the dilettante student fairly easy of recognition. As might be expected, in view of the long Spanish domination, we find among these Philippine tales perhaps more of the familiar West European than of any other foreign stock, though largely mixed with other elements and



strongly washed with local color. Naturally, also, Japanese themes are of frequent occurrence. In Lafcadio Hearn's volume "Kwaidan" is the very characteristic Japanese tale of Rokuro-Kubi, from which I quote, as follows: "In the book *Soshinki* it is written that if one find the body of a Rokuro-Kubi without its head, and remove the body to another place, the head will never be able to join itself again to the neck. And the book further says that when the head comes back and finds that its body has been moved, it will strike itself upon the floor three times—bounding like a ball—and will pant as in great fear, and presently die."

The Philippine (Visayan) superstition of the "asuang" is closely similar:—"At midnight he leaves the lower part of his body, from the waist down, and the other half flies off to look for food, especially lonely travelers and babies whose attendants have neglected them. If anyone can manage, during the absence of the asuang, to cast salt upon the part of his body which he has left behind, it will be impossible for him upon his return to reunite his body." The compilers of these Philippine tales say that it is with the greatest difficulty that a teacher can convince his scholars that the cannibals mentioned in the story of Robinson Crusoe were not asuangs.

Another strongly marked type (of the Semitic family) is the Moorish, found apparently in especial purity among the less known tribes of Northern Africa. The tales are often of the rudest, with extreme simplicity of plot and rudeness of incident. If a tale is drawn out to any length it tends to become incoherent, a loose collection of incidents not at all welded together. They abound in treachery and butchery, and in the ever-present uxoriousness of the Mohammedan. If a man wishes to conciliate another, or to gain his assistance, he addresses him as "O favorite of fair women, man of remarkable appearance," or perhaps in case his appearance be not safely remarkable, at least as "brave man, brother of beautiful women." The story, what there is of it, will probably deal with robbers, a runaway or stolen wife, and the incidents of pursuit and capture. And there will be no lack of completeness in the catastrophe, as in this instance, "Then they killed the woman and cut her flesh in strips and threw it on a jujube tree, and the jackals and birds of prey came and passed the whole day eating it, until there was none left."

Of course in the Philippines all these imported elements are mixed and overlaid with the strictly native, and the related Malaysian and Ethiopic.

Now turning to America, with a lively realization of the many and diverse elements of the folk lore of the world which have been transferred here, it is evident that we must, in a brief study, confine ourselves to a few of the most favorable fields for our inquiry, and look chiefly for such radical modifications of inherited or borrowed themes as may truly be called distinctive, rather than for any wholly indigenous. However, it must be borne in mind also that mere identity of themes in widely separated localities is not *conclusive* evidence of inheritance of either from the other, as similar conditions may have given rise to the same ideas in each independently.

In the successive outmovings of the human race from its original seats, some elements of the common stock of folk lore would always be carried, and if even a desultory communication with the old stock were kept up, these would be long retained; but in case of long isolation of a still primitive people in a new and peculiar habitat, under conditions making a sharp break with their former state, so that their original inherited lore should not simply go on unchanged, there would inevitably be developed and superimposed new ideas, from their reaction to the strange conditions and phenomena, which would gradually come to express the new racial experiences. And a like process would go on later in contacts with a more advanced civilization, as of Europeans with the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. In these cases, to quote the editor of the *Memoirs of the American Folk Lore Society*, referring to a different locality, "the imported element, even though sometimes the ground work, forms only a skeleton; the story, *undergoing reconstruction*, becomes as illustrative of native character as if it were in reality of native origin."

In the United States two racial groups, differing widely in character and history, have had peculiarly favorable conditions for the growth of individuality in their folk lore. These are the red Indians of the great plains and the Rockies, and the plantation and household Negroes of the southern states, away from the seaboard—the former in a physical isolation in a wide and varied country, in intimate contact with the all-enveloping powers of Nature—and

the latter in a social isolation no less complete than the physical isolation of the Indians. So among these groups we may perhaps look most hopefully for characteristic American features of thought or feeling, superimposed on some body of traditional lore brought here with them, or of independent origin in their new habitat. And to these I will limit the present inquiry.

The isolation of the southern Negroes of the region which I have indicated was of a very peculiar nature. As has been suggested, it was not a physical isolation; it was a living in close contact with a civilization of high cultural characteristics, in which, however, they had absolutely no share. Their *social* isolation was complete, yet this world of beauty and refinement without the pale was constantly before them, alluring, tantalizing with its glimpses of a to them impossible culture—giving rise to vague, inarticulate yearnings and aspirations—a *feeling* toward ideals which they could not express, and producing a dimly defined but poignant sense of spiritual remoteness from it all. I know an old mammy of this race, who has nursed many white children, whose dearest expressed hope in regard to heaven is that she shall be white when she gets there.

With the Negroes of the Sea Islands the case was very different, for with them the primitive stream was frequently recruited by fresh arrivals, and the modifying forces of a contact which still was not an association was not present. The Sea Island Negroes remained in great measure a transplanted bit of the African race, with comparatively little of strong and continuous influences to work essential change. This difference between them and the "Uncle Remus" Negroes is plainly reflected in many of the tales characteristic of the two localities respectively, given by Joel Chandler Harris, as told by "Daddy Jack" and "Sis Tempe," on the one hand, and "Uncle Remus" on the other. The former have the full savor of the native Africa, while the latter are strongly tintured by the new experiences and environment. In Daddy Jack's tale of how the "li'l boy bar" nursed the young alligators, is seen the lazy, care-free, rollicking existence of the tropical habitat, with none of the pathos of a long remembrance of slavery. With the Uncle Remus Negroes the characteristic thing is not their use of the rabbit, one of the weakest and most timid of the animals, whose defence must be cunning, as a hero in their tales, but their practical adoption of it as *the* hero—the instinctively recognized

symbol of themselves. This exaltation of the rabbit to the chief place among the animal heroes has, I think, occurred nowhere else in the world.

There is a fineness in the pathos of these smaller plantation and household slaves which would be impossible to a primitive race surrounded by their own kind alone. They have entered with intense sympathy into the feelings and emotions, the joys and sorrows of their masters, imbibing the fine feelings and emotions, but shut off from any expression of them by the impassable barrier of social isolation. Hence the intense feeling of helpless loneliness, and the pathos of deep yearning for a real sharing of these things. It is this pathetic sense of loneliness in their peculiar isolation to which I would point as perhaps the most distinctive contribution of the American Negro to our folk lore. Running like a minor motif through the "Brer Rabbit" tales, it is expressed with poignant emphasis in the exquisite "Ezekiel" stories of Lucy Pratt. I do not know to what extent these are based on actual folk material existent among the Negroes, or how entirely they may be the product of the sympathetic imagination and insight of the author, but, whether as revelation or interpretation, they portray real characteristics discoverable in the familiar tales, and are equally available for illustration. "Ezekiel" is the incarnation of the dazed helplessness amid an alien civilization, the piteous reaching out for companionship, of this transplanted race. The peculiar adventures in comradeship of his other self, "Manuel," will best illustrate this.

Living alone in the solitary cabin, "cuz his kin's all daid—in de night, w'en de win' gits a-w'istlin' an' a-r'arin 'roun' de house, (he) bu'ys 'is haid way down in de baid clo'es, say, 'Oh, cert'nly is lonesome yere! Oh, cert'nly is lonesome yere.' "

So in the morning he goes down the road and meets "de li'l w'ite dawg, where's name Fanny," and says: "Heyo, li'l w'ite dawg! Ef 'tain't ter much trouble I'd like fer yer to come live wid me, cuz my kin's all daid." An' li'l w'ite dawg set up on one laig agin an' keep on fannin' 'erself wid 'er tail an' speak right out in a r'al kine o li'l high up voice, say: "Yas suh! Yas suh! Cert'nly is proud ter 'blige yer!" So co'se 'Manuel an' de li'l dawg jes' turn right 'roun' an' go runnin' back 'ome tergedder.

An' nex' time ole win' come a-w'istlin' 'roun' de house in de



night, li'l boy jes' stick 'is haid ouden de clo'es, sing out: "Oh, we ain't 'fraid ter-night, cuz yer cyan' git in!" An den li'l dawg join in, an' dey bofe sing out: We's livin' yere tergedder, an' yer cyan' git in!" So ole win' jes' turn 'roun' an' run away agin eroun' de corner same way she come. But finally 'Manuel's dream is the precursor of the melancholy death of the li'l w'ite dawg, who is "all drowneded, 'scusin' the tip of her ta-il."

"Co'se 'Manuel's all 'lone 'gin, so praesen'ly he's jes' 'blige git 'im anudder li'l an'mul."

Then came the "li'l chick'n, where's name Joshua," sailing in on a leaf, and sitting down on a sunbeam at the top of the room. But Joshua was s' easy ter git mad, and although 'Manuel coaxed her down, and they lived together happily for a time, there came a little quarrel, and she flew up again and perched on the sunbeam, and all 'Manuel's protestations that "Cose he ain' ten' no harm," failed to bring her back, and she sat there on the sunbeam and the moonbeam, growing thinner and thinner, till finally "she ain' dere. Not no li'l chick'n a-settin' on the beam, not nary one."

After this came for a brief period the li'l goat, "name Calliny," but when she called to him from outside that a bear was eating her up, 'Manuel thought she was fooling, even when the voice became weak and called, "Oh, but li'l Mister Master 'Manuel, I'se mos' all ate up—all 'scusin' my haid an jes' few mo' li'l things—all 'scusin' my haid and jes' few mo' li'l things!"

"An' af' dat li'l boy's jes' 'blige ter live dere all 'lone thouten no kin 't all. An, wussen all dat, seem like he cyan' nuver go ouden de do' no mo' thouten he jes' seem ter hyeah dat li'l voice a-cryin' an' a-cryin' in the win'": Oh, li'l Mister Master 'Manuel, yer's come ter late! I'se all ate up! Yer's come ter late! I'se all ate up."

I believe the latest of 'Manuel's friends and comrades was the "Li'l Hoppin' Frog," who was as lonely and friendless as himself.

This is how their acquaintance began:

He's jes' a-settin' dere on the steps, kine o' studyin' an' thinkin' 'bout bein' ser lonesome, w'en de li'l frog come a-hoppin' up de steps. Yas'm—an' he's cryin' too, wid 's haid bu'y in 'is lap. So fus' he didn' hyeah nuthin'," an' de li'l frog keep on hoppin' up de steps, an' she hop right dere nex' de li'l boy an' se' down side' 'im. So 'Manual open 'is eyes r'al slow, an' look down, an' by dat time li'l frog was feelin' bad, too.



“Well, w’at’s yer name, frog?” ’Manuel say. An’ den de li’l frog she look up an’ wipe ’er eye r’al sad ’n gloomy an’ look at de li’l boy. “My name’s Bella,” she say; an’ she jes’ bu’y ’er haid an’ bus’ right out cryin’. “Well, ’tain’ nuthin’ ter cry ’bout ef it is.” ’Manuel answer ’er; “I reckon we better go out an’ play a li’l on de grass, ain’ we?” Well, de frog she wipe ’er eye agin, an’ den she start hoppin’ right ’long down de steps siden de li’l boy. So dey run ’roun’ on de sun-spots twell ’Manuel stop an’ look at de frog ’gin. “Ain’t yer no kin, frog?” he ask. An’ li’l frog she wipe ’e eye agin. “No, I ain’ no kin,” she say. “Den I reckon yer better live yere wid me, ain’t yer?” ’Manuel answer ’er, cuz my kin’s all daid.” “My kin’s all daid too,” li’l frog answer, sobbin’ like as she speak. “Well, se’ down an’ res’ yerself,” ’Manuel say.

An’ af’ dat de li’l boy an’ de li’l frog live dere ’lone tergedder. An’ fum dat ve’y time seem like de li’l frog ’mence ter feel diffunt. An’ she tole ’Manuel it cert’nly seem r’al homelike to ’er.

But there was the usual outcome, “An’ dat’s de reason de li’l boy feel sa ’n lonesome, cuz he knowed he would’n nuver see de li’l hoppin’ frog no mo’.”

Away from the mixed contacts of the border regions on all sides, the Indians of the great plains and the mountains of the interior, enthralled by the great forces and phenomena of this marvelous domain must inevitably have developed many characteristic elements of folk lore, or great modifications of their inherited stock. The vast spaces, tremendous play of the elements in all their moods, and the stupendous grandeur of the mountains—with the wonder of the limitless sky spread over all—these still weave their spell upon even the transient sojourner. What a powerful impress they must have made, through many generations, upon a simple people of thoughtful, poetic and religious temperament!

In the present state of our knowledge, originality in the Indian tales will perhaps be perceived more as a sort of pervading atmosphere, vaguely felt, than in distinct themes or motives which may be definitely pointed out, though these latter will probably appear in no inconsiderable number as our familiarity with the field grows. Meanwhile the work of searching out and recording the material, in however crude or literal form, while it is still available, is the vital need. Indeed, in the *gathering* stage of the investigation,

literal translation, with its inevitable failure to convey the poetry and literary spirit of the original, is no doubt preferable to imposing upon the tales graces and refinements of an alien literary form, which would conceal or lead away from the real thought and feeling. We must await as interpreters of the Indian lore, those as familiar with their life and manner of thought as Joel Chandler Harris was with those of the Georgia Negroes.

Here is one of the tales with a baldness which if it closely reflects the original might almost be claimed as an unique element:—

### WHY LOVERS SHOULD NEVER BECOME JEALOUS

A young Mohegan man and girl were very much in love with each other. The older people would say, "Ah, k'numshni! Look at that. They are very happy."

One day the young man shot a deer. He brought it to his loved one and laid it in her house. Now he suddenly became jealous. Well, the reason is not known. Then he seized the horns of the deer and rushed up to her. He pressed them upon her forehead.

Now they grew there, and no one could get them off her head. They were going to grow right through the top of the wigwam. So her family became very anxious. Then they sent for the shaman. He brought a magic oil and rubbed it on the joints of the horns. Soon these joints began to crack, and then they dropped off. The young man went away from that town, but never came back.

The girl's head was all right.

In spite of the comparative isolation of these Indians for a long time, there are among them numerous traces of the familiar tales of other parts of the world—it has seemed to me more largely of the Indo-European stream than of any other, which of course may have come to them from almost any direction. One of their most common themes is metamorphoses, into every sort of thing, animate and inanimate. Also a favorite one is the common Eastern notion of the pursued leading the pursuer a sort of titanic hurdle race, with all manner of obstacles arising between them. However, the independent origin of this idea among the Indians seems by no means improbable. Then there is the Jack the Giant Killer trick of the eating and drinking contest, in which the challenger puts the food into a leather bag concealed under his clothing, which he

finally rips up with a knife, daring his competitor to do the same.

But after the known foreign elements are sifted out as thoroughly as possible, much is left in which original motives or essential modifications may confidently be sought.

There is much interesting material of story and superstition in connection with the disposal of their dead. On the prairies this is often done by suspension in trees or placing on a raised platform—an obvious means of protection from their most prevalent animals, wolves, foxes, etc., but of no avail in a mountain or forest habitat, among the climbing animals. Most of this material, though of course having considerable likeness to that developed among other peoples in similar environment, seems to be rich in characteristic elements of theme or treatment, and here is a story in which possibly the main motive, a curious reversal of the familiar idea of the ghou! feasting on the bodies of the dead, is original.

### AN ABENAKE WITCH STORY

An old witch was dead, and his people buried him in a tree, up among the branches, in a grove that they used for a burial place. Some time after this, in the winter, an Indian and his wife came along, looking for a good place to spend the night. They saw the grove, went in, and built their cooking fire. When their supper was over, the woman, looking up, saw long dark things hanging among the tree branches. "What are they?" she asked. "They are only the dead of long ago," said her husband. "I want to sleep." "I don't like it at all. I think we had better sit up all night," replied his wife. The man would not listen to her, but went to sleep.

Soon the fire went out, and then she began to hear a gnawing sound, like an animal with a bone. She sat still, very much scared, all night long. About dawn she could stand it no longer, and, reaching out, tried to wake her husband, but could not. She thought him sound asleep. The gnawing had stopped. When daylight came she went to her husband and found him dead, with his left side gnawed away, and his heart gone. She turned and ran. At last she came to a lodge where there were some people. Here she told her story, but they would not believe it, thinking that she had killed the man herself. They went with her to the place, how-

ever. There they found the man, with his heart gone, lying under the burial tree, with the dead witch right overhead. They took the body down and unwrapped it. The mouth and face were covered with fresh blood.

As I have suggested, a tale with such marked characteristics as that familiar to us as the Tar Baby story, cannot lose its identity through any variations of personnel or incident merely adapting it to the locality in which it is found; it is still the Tar Baby story, though the actors be the ape and the tortoise, instead of the fox and the rabbit, and the scene of the denouncement be a pond instead of the brier patch, and it would seem reasonably certain that it had a single origin. But the case is different with tales whose similarity consists only in the use of a main motive which may quite possibly and even probably have had more than one independent origin. For example, the star myths, prevalent among the American Indians and also in other parts of the world. Perhaps especially on the great plains of the earth, where during the nights, to an out-of-doors people, the heavens are the one object of contemplation, these myths would naturally arise. There is in these tales among our Indians so much that is in sympathetic harmony with the surroundings, the nearness and friendliness of the overarching sky, in the warm, sensuous nights of summer, with its myriad twinkling lights so suggestive of home lights, that a race of poetic temperament could hardly fail to imagine a communication with it. Very much of this product, whether of indigenous origin or of long tradition, is undoubtedly due to their own reaction to the conditions.

In "Jack and the Bean Stalk," however, while at first glance the motive may appear like, namely, a communication with the upper world, the conception is radically different, and especially suggests an origin in very different surroundings. With the Indians there is a hole in the sky, giving a glimpse of the world of light above, and the means of communication some sort of a rope; while the bean stalk communicated rather with a part of the common world, and the tale originated amid a tropical type of vegetation. Indeed, so far from affording a communication with the sky world, the great vine is really a screen shutting it out. There was nothing in the great plains to suggest it.

Here is a characteristic Indian star tale, which I would submit



as a probable instance of independent identical origin, and certainly of much originality in its essential structure:

### THE CHIEF'S DAUGHTERS: AN OTOE TALE. (Nebraska)

In the evening, in summer, upon a hot night two young girls, chief's daughters, lay on the ground outside their tents gazing at the sky. As the stars came out one of them said:—"I wish we were away up there. Do you see where that dim star is? There is where I wish I might be." And she fixed her eyes upon the twinkling star that seemed to be vanishing behind the clouds. The other girl said: "It is too dim. I wish I were up by that bright one, that large, brilliant star," and she pointed to where a steady light glowed red.

Soon they were asleep and the brilliant lights in the blue above kept watch. In the night when they awoke each young girl found herself where she had wished to be. The one in the dim star was in the home of a brave young chief, and she became his bride and was happy. The beautiful star had appeared dim to her while she was yet upon the earth because it was so far, far away that she could not see its glorious light.

The girl in the bright star found herself in a servant's home, and was obliged to do all manner of work and to become the servant's wife. This star had been nearer the earth, and so it had seemed to be the larger and brighter star. When this girl found that her friend had gone to a beautiful star and become the wife of a chief, with plenty of servants to wait upon her, and that she was never permitted to do any work, she cried and cried because the change in her own condition seemed more cruel, and she was even obliged to live with a servant.

The girls were still friends and often met in the clouds and went out to gather wild turnips, but the chief's wife could never dig, her friend was always obliged to serve her. Whenever they started out an old man would say to them:—"When you dig a turnip you must strike with the hoe once, then pull up the turnip. Never by any means strike twice." After going to gather turnips many times and receiving always this same instruction, the chief's wife grew curious, and one day she said to her friend: "Why is it they tell us to strike but once? Today when you dig that turnip I



wish you to strike twice. Let us see why they allow us to strike but once." The servant struck once with the hoe and took up the turnip, then, as commanded, she struck with her hoe again in the same place. Behold a hole! She leaned forward and looked down. She saw her home. She cried to her friend, "Look, I can see through the clouds. See! there is our home." The chief's wife looked also, and she saw the village and her home. The girls sat looking through the hole, and they longed to go home, and they sat weeping. An old man chanced to pass by, and he saw them and stopped and asked: "What is the matter? What are you crying about?" And they answered, "Because we can see our home. We are so far away, we wish to be there but we can never get there." The old man passed on. He went to the chief and he told him that the girls sat weeping because they could see their home, and they wanted to go back to the earth. The chief then called all his people together, and he sent them away to find all the lariats that they could.

In the village on the earth every one had mourned for the chief's daughters who had so strangely disappeared, and could not be found. It was a long time since they were lost, but the people still thought of them. Today in the village a great many people had come to see the boys and young men play. They used a ring and a long stick, round at one end. One person would throw the ring in the air and at the same time another would try to send his arrow through it; the men would run swiftly and throw their sticks when they were near the ring, for the one who got most arrows through while the ring was still in the air was the winner. All the people were excited over the game and urging on the young men, when one of them happened to look up toward the sky. "Why, look up," he called out, "something is coming down. Look! They are very large. Look at them!" All who heard stopped and looked up, and others seeing them look, turned to see what it was. Many ran to the spot where these things were falling. Then the people found they were the lost girls.

The good chief in the dim star had ordered all the lariats knotted together and then he had wound them around the bodies of the two girls and dropped them gently through the hole in the sky to the earth, keeping tight the end of the rope until the girls reached the ground.

Joyfully the Indians ran before the girls to carry the news of their return to their sorrowful parents. One of the girls looked sad and pitiful, the other looked happy as though she had been in some beautiful place.

Having spoken of the above as a *characteristic Indian story*, I hasten to add, before you suggest it to me, that it is overlaid, in the telling, with some very modern thought and treatment, grotesquely inconsistent with the groundwork—as the positively Bostonian explanation of why the one star appeared brighter than the other. A scientific pedagogical elucidation in a primitive folk myth! The humor of it, at least, is exquisite.

In view of the slight showing of peculiar elements in American folk lore which I have suggested, I would repeat that my purpose has been rather to suggest to you lines of inquiry, and some tentative methods, than to present final results, and that, especially if the folk lore of all peoples reaches back to ultimate common sources, modifications, and not radical originations may be all that we are likely to find.

## PROFESSOR URIEL WALDO CUTLER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society at the  
Annual Meeting, June 11, 1937, by Zelotes W. Coombs

Uriel Waldo Cutler was born in Holliston, Massachusetts, March first, 1854, and died at his home in Worcester, April twenty-second, 1936. The son of Uriel, Jr., and Susan E. Lovering Cutler, he was descended from a long line of Puritan ancestors who had been among the pioneer settlers of Holliston, Dedham, Medford, Medway, and Hingham. The influence of this Puritan heritage was strongly marked in his ideas and in his life, in what he was and in what he accomplished.

Educated in the schools of his native town, Professor Cutler entered the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, as it was called in those days, in 1871, and graduated as a Civil Engineer in 1874. He never practised his profession, however, his interests and inclinations being too broadly cultural to be hampered by any strictly technical career. By these interests his whole life was guided and shaped.

On graduating from the Institute Professor Cutler taught for a year in Hitchcock Free Academy in Brimfield, Massachusetts, but was soon recalled to his Alma Mater to become instructor in English and Modern Languages. In this field he served from 1881 to 1903, being promoted to Assistant Professor and Professor from time to time. The Head of the Department, Dr. E. P. Smith died suddenly in April, 1892, and Professor Cutler, completing the work of that year, was made Head of the Department of English and Modern Languages, a position that he filled until his retirement in 1903. Under Professor Smith, Economics and Civil Government had been included in the department of which he was Head, but after his death these subjects were combined in a separate department. From the time of his taking up teaching at the Institute until his retirement in 1903 he was twice given leave of absence, some time being spent at Johns Hopkins University, and approximately two years in Europe, in the study of modern languages, and in the pursuit of those broadening cultural studies which made so strong an appeal to him.

On retiring from his professorship at the Polytechnic, Professor

Cutler devoted himself to study and to the numerous activities, civic, educational, historical, ecclesiastical, which made him an outstanding citizen of Worcester. It hardly seems possible that he could have followed so many lines of endeavor so successfully, with marked contributions in each. For ten years he had been the Treasurer of the Hospital Cottages at Baldwinville, and for some years before his death had served as President of the Board of Trustees. In 1911 and 1912 he was President of the Worcester Public Education Association, and under his administration important results were attained. True to his patriotic ancestry he had served as Secretary of the local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution; he had for years been an active member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, also a member of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. In more recent years he was deeply interested in early American Industries, and was a charter member of the society formed for study along these lines. In this city he was a member of the Economic Club, of the Foreign Policy Association, of the Worcester Congregational Club. In the early days of the Worcester Boys' Club he had, for a short period, served as Superintendent of that organization, before the arrival of Superintendent Armstrong. He was a prime mover in the Boy Scout development in this city, and was for several years a member of the Court of Honor.

Profoundly interested in church matters and true to his Puritan tradition, Professor Cutler was during his life active in the Central Congregational Church. Here he had served as Clerk of the Parish, as Superintendent of the Sunday School, for over thirty years as Deacon. In 1920 he was the author of "The First Hundred Years of Central Church," and only last year, that is in 1935, he compiled a history of the church in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the occupation of the present church edifice. His interest in ecclesiastical matters was more than parochial, since he was a frequent delegate to church conferences, and was for seven years Secretary of the Worcester City Missionary Society.

Professor Cutler had spent the greater part of his life in educational work and he never lost his interest in this line of endeavor. For eight years he was a member of the city School Committee, and his faithful service on this board was of the greatest value to the city. He never gave up his fixed plan of self-improvement and



self-education. He studied at Clark University from 1908 to 1919, holding a fellowship during most of that period. He devoted his energies here to research and produced results of value, embodying these results in courses of lectures and in papers published in various educational periodicals.

Mention of his interest in historical matters has been made, but from our point of view, as his fellow-members in this Society, his activity in behalf of the Society perhaps deserves fullest mention and emphasis. He was President of the Society in 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1924, after this last date becoming Executive Director. His work in these positions was of supreme importance. The Society was in a critical position, and failure of some strong hand and guiding mind might have meant ruin. Professor Cutler reorganized the collections, stabilized the programs of meetings and the general conduct of the Society, and literally "cleaned house," separating in the vast accumulations of the Society the chaff from the wheat. If the founders of the Society, far back in 1874, builded better than they knew, to Professor Cutler must be given full credit as the preserver of what they had begun. His work here will stand with his many other good works as a notable monument to the man, to what he planned, to what he did.

Naturally to a man with such a background, with such ideals, with such a high and splendid purpose came often the inspiration to write. Professor Cutler did write much and always well. His work included numerous contributions to local newspapers and magazines, to historical and educational periodicals, on topics social, civic, educational, psychological, historical. He had made translations from the German, had edited Franklin's Autobiography for school use, had published selections from Sir Thomas Malory's *King Arthur*, under the title, "*King Arthur and His Knights*." Several of his contributions have appeared in the Proceedings of this Society, others in the publications of Clark University and in magazines of national circulation.

Always keen in his desire to improve himself, to broaden his own cultural outlook that he might contribute to the improvement of others, Professor Cutler had made five trips to Europe, for study as well as for travel. He had spent five years there, most of the time in study. And before assuming his duties at the Polytechnic he had taken courses for a considerable period at the Normal Art School in Boston.



Professor Cutler was married in Boston, June 12, 1884, to Emma F. Leland, daughter of Joseph D. and Mary Adams Leland, who survives him.

In the passing of Professor Cutler our city has suffered a great loss. A man of quiet temper, not openly aggressive, he had, nevertheless, profound convictions, high ideals, and an indomitable purpose in life to do good. If he believed a course to be right he was relentless in pursuing that course until it reached its consummation. Profoundly interested in his fellow-men and in their welfare and improvement, devoted to countless good causes, ever ready to lend his assistance in these causes, he was willing to devote his every energy to attain the desired end. A descendant of generations of Puritans he was a shining example of the Puritan spirit at its best, high-minded, earnest, sincere, thoughtful, quiet, self-effacing, but with a fixed and definite purpose in life to make the world better for his having lived in it.

We who have known him all these years, who have worked with him, who have noted his high purpose in whatever he undertook, who have witnessed his actual accomplishments, must mourn his going from among us as the passing of a trusted and tried friend and fellow-worker. But we are happy and thankful that he has lived among us, that it has been our high privilege to have been associated with him, thankful and appreciative that the world has been helped by his life, by what he planned to do, by what he really did. And though he has gone to his reward we feel that his influence, strong in what he has accomplished, will live on, that he and his good works will be an inspiration to us his fellow-workers who are left, to carry on, to strive for the attainment of those high ideals that were ever his inspiration.

## CHARLES IRVING RICE A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Read before the Worcester Historical Society, January 11, 1929,  
by Miss Maude L. Davis

Anything approaching a really adequate account of the life and work of Charles Irving Rice, would require a great deal of time and thought in preparation and surely could not be presented here in the necessarily brief period allotted to it. His days were full of activity; his life was replete with most valuable and loving service; he was never idle. It is important, however, to record, even though briefly, some of the outstanding facts of his life, and reverently to enumerate some of the services he has rendered to this community, especially in the world of music. First, let us confine ourselves to bare facts.

Charles Irving Rice was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, on June 13, 1859; the son of William and Ellen A. (Larkin) Rice. He attended the public schools of that town, and completed the high school course.

Early in life he manifested a great interest in music and upon leaving high school, determined to make it his profession. He then attended Worcester County Music School, in this City. While a student at that institution, he sustained an injury to his left hand, which resulted in infection, making amputation of the hand necessary. With his characteristic pluck and indomitable determination, he refused to be diverted from his chosen course, and pursued his musical studies in spite of what to the ordinary man would have seemed like an insurmountable handicap.

After completing his studies at the Worcester County Music School, he took a course in the Music School of Method, in Boston, to fit himself for the profession of teacher of choral and school music. He subsequently became an instructor in that institution and at Chautauqua Lake. His ability as a teacher of music in public schools began to be recognized throughout the State and his services were engaged for singing schools and in the public schools of several of the smaller cities and towns in and about Worcester County.

Mr. Rice was married to Florence Knowles, of Worcester, on

July 19, 1886. She, with her two daughters, Miriam, wife of N. Earle Taylor, and Florence, wife of Richard M. Daniels, survive him.

In September, 1889, Mr. Rice entered the service of the City of Worcester, as assistant to Mr. Seth Richards, in the department of School Music, and in July, 1902, he was appointed supervisor of the department, succeeding Mr. Richards, who had resigned. He held this position until his passing.

Mr. Rice joined the Worcester County Musical Association in 1885, and was elected a director in 1886, serving in that capacity and as a member of various committees until his death.

He appeared as baritone soloist in the Worcester Musical Festivals of 1888, '89, '94, '96, and '97. He selected and trained the children's choruses for many festival performances.

Mr. Rice was choirmaster of the All Saints Episcopal Church from 1884 to 1914, and his remarkable ability in training young voices in choral singing was here again strikingly exemplified. For several years he acted as director of music at Central Congregational Church.

He was a Mason, an Odd Fellow, a member of the Bohemian Club, Rotary Club, and various local and national organizations connected with his chosen profession, and in all of these affiliations his services as a musician were continually sought and never denied.

He passed away in Worcester, January 5, 1928.

So much for the chronological rehearsal of the outstanding events of his life.

In the realm of school music, and in the training of young singers, Mr. Rice was a figure of national reputation. His sympathetic understanding and love for children, brought him their respect and esteem, and this fact together with his ability as a musician enabled him to achieve most remarkable results in their musical development. As a composer of carols, school music, quartets, and choral works, he was widely and favorably known.

Perhaps one of his greatest services to this community was his activity in the affairs of the Worcester County Musical Association. He gave unsparingly of his time and energy to this widely known and famous organization. Through his efforts, the children's choruses, chosen from Worcester's public schools, have participated

in the annual music festivals, of this Association. He thus stimulated public interest in the work of the Association and laid a foundation for much of its future activity.

His work in directing the music of several of Worcester's larger churches has had a wonderful influence upon the musical life of the community. Many a successful and recognized musician today, will look back upon the instruction received from Mr. Rice either in choir or public school, and realize that it was then that the inspiration was received, which ultimately led to success.

Mr. Rice was an ardent lover of outdoor life and spent much time in travel and in the woods. He was an amateur photographer of exceptional ability and especially enjoyed the photographing of wild creatures.

Few citizens of Worcester have been more widely known to her citizens, or more generally beloved. His geniality and unfailing courtesy and kindness endeared him to all whose paths he crossed. In his social relations he was always the helpful, loyal friend, full of compassion for the unfortunate, and joyous in the success of those more favored.

In conclusion, I should like to present the verses written in his memory by Miss Edna A. Collamore, a principal in one of Worcester's public schools, which, through years of official association with him, gave her, as it did all who knew him, an appreciation and understanding of his real worth.

---

To—CHARLES I. RICE

To some, the going-forth must be a fear,  
And Heaven itself a strange and lonely place,  
But not to you, who all your life held dear  
The selfsame beauties that the new life grace,  
And held that art the dearest of the seven  
That reaches its full majesty in Heaven.  
Beauties we number in our thoughts of you;  
Beauty of peaceful friendships never stirred  
By one censorious or bitter word;  
Beauty of leadership and youth afire  
To sing of loveliness and of desire;  
Beauty of woodland trail and cabin rude,

Of star-filled nights in mountain solitude;  
Beauty of comradeship to comprehend  
That no man is a stranger but a friend;  
Beauty that daily spells a good man's creed,  
Unnumbered kindnesses of word and deed;  
With earth so fair, can Heaven seem strange and new?

And when some angel choirmaster shall chant,  
"Praise Him, ye holy, humble men of heart,"  
Then shall your voice rise, fearlessly and free,  
Who in your life so well have conned the part,  
While close about your feet child-angels throng,  
Their voices gay with welcoming and song.

(E. A. C.)



## WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Annual Report of the Executive Director for the year  
June 1, 1936, to May 31, 1937

The activities of a historical society such as ours do not vary greatly from year to year but its service to the community, as a guardian of its historic life, is of constantly increasing value.

Our work divides itself into two classes which we may call routine and projective. The first concerns itself with running of a museum, with dealing with the public, receiving and dealing with gifts, arranging special displays, and answering orally and by letter the numerous questions which are asked of us daily. By the projective work we refer to rearrangement of the museum displays, the gathering of special items of historic interest and their display, and research into our own archives as well as those of other local bodies.

During the past year we have received more visitors than in previous years. In geographical distribution they have come from all parts of the United States and Canada and from several European Countries. The character of our visitors varies as much as their geographic origin, but for the most part they come to visit a historical museum because of a very definite interest. We continue to hold the interest of local groups from our public school system who use our exhibits as a laboratory, supplementary to their class work. Students of college grade are making our library material of use in their research work more than ever.

We have received this year 148 gifts to the museum from fifty-six donors. Many of these items are of high historical value and, coming as they do from the homes of the donors, they represent intimately the life of the community for their period. Our costumes continue to be enriched by the donation of many beautiful dresses of a variety of styles.

Special displays have been arranged at different times. For the Yankee Division Convention a complete case was given over to the exhibition of World War relics, many of which were both rare and unusual. Our glass collection has been completely rearranged and the chinaware case was rebuilt so as to display more adequately the increased number of gifts received. The Rogers Groups

have been set out in a more pleasing arrangement by subjects. Our complete collection of wooden ware has been oiled against deterioration and has been placed as a unit, in the basement.

The Society is in receipt every day of inquiries from organizations and individuals throughout the country on a wide variety of subjects. It is interesting to note how far flung are the people of New England origin and how great their interest in the old Bay State remains.

Our projective work this year has concerned itself in bringing out for display, from many a hidden nook, a variety of objects hitherto unseen. For this purpose we have arranged related items on display boards which have been placed over the upper halves of several of the windows in the main museum. The effect has been to take away the bare appearance previously noted and to create a warm congenial atmosphere to the main hall, as well as to offer to the public, interesting objects easily seen.

Some months ago it was discovered that the younger generation did not know the kerosene lamp and so immediate steps were inaugurated to make a small representative collection. These lamps of varying types are now on display and a part of our regular museum.

Our manuscript department which contains a wealth of valuable material is now in process of codification. This is being done through the activity of the Historical Records Project who are making a comprehensive survey of our material in order to allow us to present it in a form that will be of more value and convenience for reference. Thus town and church records will become more available and important diaries and other historical papers more easily accessible. Already we have found the diary of a local boy who went off to the wars, and who tells us of his experiences as a soldier in the fighting at Ticonderoga and "Fort Willyum Hennery," a remarkable document. Then we have located a fine specimen of the signatures of John Hancock and Stephen Hopkins, the one as bold and dashing as the other is old and quavering. Another interesting paper issued in Worcester in August, 1764, warns a prospective indigent to depart herefrom on pain of dire results. This is a rare item. It is hoped that we may unearth many more interesting documents from our hidden recesses.

And so our humble institution with its priceless relics of the past

strives to fill its niche in the community edifice. We are grateful to all who have so generously donated to our library and museum and especially to those members of the Society whose coöperation and support make our continued existence possible.

GEORGE I. CROSS  
*Executive Director*

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Librarian's Report for the year ending May 31, 1937.

Presented at the Annual Meeting, June 11, 1937

The increasing use of our *local Library—Worcester and Worcester County*—for purposes of study and research, which has been noticeable for a few years, has continued unabated during the last year. The people using it have been largely those of our City and County, but with a considerable number from many, and sometimes far distant localities. Indeed in these years of much enforced leisure a good many people have really made our acquaintance and learned what our facilities are for helping them to a knowledge and understanding of the history and manner of life of our community past and present. And from these literary resources of the Library the visitor can turn immediately to our *Museum* for still further illustration, in particularly interesting and striking form, along the same lines.

Most of our general library, in the basement, however, has been, as usual, entirely inert, and so largely not an asset but a clog and hindrance to the proper work of our Society, in the present acute shortage of space. At some meet time a judicious clearance of much of this non-useful material—as well as of many of our overabundant duplicates, would be a welcome relief, and leave the residue the more valuable.

Our local Library is in general grouped and classified very conveniently for consultation, except for various make-shifts necessitated by the want of room.

The number of accessions of books and pamphlets to the Library during the past year has been 94. Among these an outstanding contribution, unique and of great historical value, is "*G.A.R. MEMORIAL DAY OBSERVATIONS*," presented by Mr. Herbert Wesby. This work was compiled by Mr. Wesby during the years

1869-1934, from local newspapers and other sources, and is comprised in nine handsome cloth-bound octavo volumes profusely illustrated.

Besides the just mentioned work, Mr. Wesby has presented to the Library forty-five of his characteristic pamphlets and booklets, compiled by him in the same manner and bound in paper, nearly all of them illustrated. These all pertain to local matters, history, biography, etc.—many of them to local churches and schools.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK COLEGROVE

*Librarian*

















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## THE NEW ENGLAND MIGRATION

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by Executive  
Director Captain George I. Cross, November 12, 1937

To produce an apple of the first quality three elements are essential, namely—stock, soil, and culture. These three elements are equally essential to produce the highest type of civilization in the human race. With them in mind let us examine the twenty odd thousand Puritans who came to New England in the great migration of 1628 to 1640. They came from the eastern and southern counties of England as is proven by the place names which they transplanted, such as, Boston, Ipswich, Gloucester, Yarmouth, Topsfield, from the Eastern English counties, while from the southern counties come such names as Weymouth, Dorchester, and Andover. Education bespeaks its influence in transplanted names like Cambridge and Oxford. The importance of this phenomenon of place names to us historically is that we are able frequently to trace our early American settlers back to their English birthplace and learn much of their home antecedents.

It is important, too, to note that the eastern English counties bordering the North Sea were those which received the latest and purest Germanic streams which entered England, a people who had never known a conqueror, and whose independence was a constant source of annoyance to high authority in the homeland as well as later in New England.

To understand the stimulus of this migration we shall first have to learn to look at the England whence they came. The political dissensions which played a part in stimulating the Puritan migration to New England were of ancient origin. To understand them properly it is necessary to bear in mind that England was unique among great nations of that period in having a representative body, the Parliament; that this institution was always, in greater or less degree, a guardian of certain "Rights of Englishmen"; and that these rights, never wholly lost, had been gradually increased at the cost of royal power. It must be remembered, too, that one of the effects of the Renaissance was the discovery of the lower classes, and that this effect was especially strong on English soil. Indeed,



early democratic aspirations found voice in the famous lines of John Ball:

“When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?”

Erasmus caught the spirit of English freedom and wrote to the nobles of his day in language reminding us of Lincoln: “What power and sovereignty soever you have, you have it by the consent of the people.” The reformed religion, too, became a spiritual foundation for democracy. Latimer preached that before God’s judgment seat all would be equal, since princes and ploughmen alike were made of one matter. Puritanism also represented the great leveling tendency which we call democracy, since it was the expression of a people seeking a progressive spiritual government, as opposed to the stagnation of the Church, and demanding a temporal power capable of protecting that spiritual growth.

Parliament had conceded much power to the Tudor sovereigns because in them the national aspirations of the people found adequate voice. If the Parliament, which under Elizabeth had become Puritan, had felt the need of asserting its power, the queen’s popularity and ability to compromise had postponed the struggle. But the temper of the age was changing. Men everywhere were anticipating the rule of law. The Puritan by his very religious belief was urged to seek laws governing his attitude toward life, and to accept or reject any claim according as it conformed to his conception of Divine will. A Puritan Parliament, then, was likely to challenge any usurpation of prerogative by a Ruler not bound by ancient law.

The Renaissance and the Reformation, which had so greatly affected the continent of Europe, had neither of them attained on English soil the headway that the one had in Italy and the other in Germany. Yet familiarity with both of these movements and the stimulus they afforded, forced a departure from conservatism and inertia, to a new nationalism, a new cosmopolitanism. But in England more than on the continent, it was the royal house which underwent a metamorphosis during this period. Because of this fact, the English found their lawful expression through the Prince, and events gravitated more and more around his person. Thus it was that both Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth had such tremen-

dous influence on their times. They were in harmony with their people; their acts an expression of their age.

The quarrel with Rome, in England, was based too on Nationality rather more than on doctrine. The people had felt for a long time that their interests and welfare were bound up in an English King rather than in a foreign potentate. The development of this feeling grew until, in the reign of Elizabeth, the country became fairly confirmed in its Anglicanism. It was Elizabeth's greatness to direct her people in harmony with the desires of a majority of them, and to stimulate their best spiritual instincts. But in her later years the queen grew more formalistic and turned deaf ears on those who sought to purify, or simplify the church service. To this end in 1566 she promulgated certain orders which prescribed the minimum of ceremonial for church services, and deprived of his holdings any clergyman who failed to conform by a certain date. The dissenters were divided into three groups, those who desired to remain in a simplified national church, those who desired a state church but one based on the Presbyterian model which rejected the spiritual leadership of the Sovereign; and the third group, the Separatists, who rejected entirely the idea of a state church and maintained that the "Christian Church should be composed exclusively of Christian Men." All these types were represented in the Great Migration to New England, but the Separatist or Congregational type was by far the most numerous.

Laws for the punishment of non-conformists became more severe until the Conventicle Act of 1593 forced all recalcitrants to "Abjure this realm of England and all other of the Queen's Majesty's dominions forever." The immediate effect of this act was the migration to Holland of the Pilgrims, who later, in the Mayflower, were to precede their fellow-sufferers to the New World.

Elizabeth's reign had nevertheless been one of compromise. She did try to insist on uniformity, but refused to allow any active persecution. As a result her rule was wise and the Queen remained popular until her death in 1603.

Under the first kings of the Stuart line the popularity of the sovereigns was lost and the spirit of compromise disappeared. This was due largely to the stubborn insistence on the part of the rulers on the theory of Divine Right. This claim was embodied by the Anglican theologians in the declaration that "Sovereignty in its

origin is the prerogative of royal birthright." They declared that passive obedience to the monarch was a religious obligation. This was, of course, directly opposed to the spirit of Puritanism, and so by the time that James had been on the throne a decade, these two opposing conflicting theories had become permanently hostile. The conflict thus engendered was continued with greater severity under the leadership of Archbishop Laud who sought a *via media* for the Anglican Church between the extremes of Romanism and Calvinism. As a result large numbers felt obliged to quit the Anglican Communion. So it came about that Crown and Church allied found themselves for the first time opposed to the majority of the English people, who feared the loss of their religious liberty. It was this fear that impelled so many "devoted to an authority higher than that of Kings" to seek in the New World a haven from English conformity.

Thus we have seen the political and religious impulses which were behind the New England migration, but it is interesting to take a brief glance at that England from which our ancestors came. To have lived in Puritan England in the opening years of the Seventeenth Century was to have been a contemporary of Bacon and Raleigh, of Drake and Sidney, of Milton and Shakespeare; it meant living in a really great period. The Elizabethan age was one of which Englishmen have been justly proud ever since. Elizabeth, last of the Tudors, died in 1603, but the impress of her reign, the culmination of a century of change, was to affect greatly the future of all men of English birth.

Life in England in the early seventeenth century was an interesting one. "Merrie England" did not wholly disappear while the Tudors ruled. Foreign commerce was greatly stimulated by the defeat of the Armada in 1588, and as a result comforts, and even luxuries, became common where before a bare living had sufficed for the tiller of the soil, and English life for the most part in those days was still largely rural, agriculture still being the chief occupation of the average Englishman. Manor houses with gables and glass windows replaced the cheerless medieval castle, and comfortable cottages now housed the farmer and his family.

Socially there were the two great classes, the Gentry and the Commons, but in each class there were, then as now, many gradations. The English nobility has always been recruited from the

ranks of the common people, so the daughter of a well-to-do yeoman, with the broad acres and large income of her father as dower, made no *mésalliance* in marrying into the family of a needy gentleman.

Opportunity for education was not lacking; and it was no uncommon occurrence for the common young lads of that time to study Latin, Logic, and Rhetoric, as well as the three R's. Oxford and Cambridge were even then national institutions for the training of ideas, manners, and character. Schools known well today were already enjoying more than a local reputation, for we read that: "The four youths who came from Muscovy to study English and Latin were distributed between Eton and Winchester." Community needs were provided for by district schools. We learn, for example, that in Stratford-on-Avon the local "Rector scholarum" was established in 1295. There the youthful Shakespeare must have perused his horn-book with the other lads of the vicinity and there made note of

"the whining schoolboy with his satchel  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school:"

Plenty and hospitality went hand in hand, for we note that Elder William Brewster, later of Plymouth, provided the Sabbath dinner for all the members of the Pilgrim congregation that met to worship with him weekly. Nor were hospitality and good cheer confined to the gentle folk; Harrison tells us again that "both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal and friendly at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merry without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be found in company among them." Small wonder then that the early American settler, subsisting on the plainer, coarser food of the New World, sometimes sighed for the bountiful fleshpots of Old England!

We have now glanced briefly at the political development, the religious struggle and the social conditions of 17th century England, the Puritan background. Let us examine the quality of great migration.

Some one has said that "Dukes don't migrate," but there were at least three noble houses represented among the great Puritan



families of early New England. We have the records of 109 graduates of Cambridge and 30 of Oxford Universities together with their degrees and colleges. So high a percentage of educated men assured the colony of an unusual opportunity for culture and learning. The character of the people who came to the Bay Colony is well summarized by John Richard Green in his "Short History of the English People." He says, "The immigrants were in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen, like Cotton, Hooker and Williams, some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars from the universities. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the Eastern Counties. They desired, in fact, only the best as sharers in their enterprise."

We believe then, that in racial stock, political experience, and social qualities, no nation has ever had so fortunate a beginning as we of New England. The Stock, then, was of superior quality.

The Soil too we believe, was favorable for the development of the English stock which was planted on it. Already in the 16th and 17th centuries the coast of North America had become well known. Sebastian Cabot in 1497 had followed the earlier Norse voyagers and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth we find the new world explored by intrepid sailors like Frobisher, Raleigh, and Gilbert. New England was visited by Gosnold in 1602 and in 1605 Samuel de Champlain coasted through the same waters, strewing French place names which still remain. He reported a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian Corn, with no lack of fine trees. In 1614, John Smith mapped the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod and refers to "The Countrie of Massachusetts which is the Paradise of all these parts. The seacoast as you pass shows you all along large corn fields and great troupes of well proportioned people." (This was before the great pestilence of 1616-1617.)

There is much testimony from the pens of original settlers about their impressions of their new homes. Among these, perhaps the best known is the account of the Reverend Francis Higginson, first minister of the plantation at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. A few quotations from his correspondence will be of interest. He says, "The form of the earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plainesse, nor too high in the Hills,



but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and fit for Pasture, or for Plow or meddow ground. The fertility of the Soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of Grasse. In our plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny; but the abundant increase of Corne proves this country to be a wonderment." Of one of the settlers he writes, "that of the setting of 13 gallons of Corne he hath an increase of it 52 Hogsheads every Hogshead holding 7 Bushels, and every Bushel was sold to the Indians for as much Beaver as was worth 18 shillings, so of this corn which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence he made about 327 pounds, as by reckoning will appear."

"For Woode," he continues, "there is no better in the Worlde I thinke. A poor servant here, may afford to give more wood for Timber & Fire as good as the world yields, than many Noble men in England can afford to do." Of the richness of the Sea he tells of a fish called a Basse, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eate, and Lobsters so great and fat and lucious that they weighed 16 pound, and others they assure me have weighed 25 pound."

"And as for water the country is full of dainty springs and great rivers and some lesser brooks, and we may digge Wels and find water where we wish."

"The Temper of the Aire of New England is one speciall thing that commends this place. Many that have been weake and sickly in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and grown healthfull strong."

So at some length Mr. Higginson covers the disposition, as he says, "of the foure Elements, Earthe, Water, Aire, and Fire," and in conclusion testifies: "Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more Goodly Country in all my life, all things considered."

It would appear then that the Soil of New England was one favorable to the growth of a great people.

Let us now glance at the fruit of this sturdy stock thus planted among our New England hills and vales. Very early, provision was made for a school in each community, then, only six years after Boston was made the colonial capital, the college was founded at Newtowne. In due course Yale followed Harvard and then as the colonies progressed there sprang up Dartmouth, Amherst and

the host of colleges and schools which today literally cover the New England states. Here it might be interesting to note that the oldest preparatory school west of the Alleghanies is a New England founded academy called Punahou, and located in Honolulu.

The energy of the new colonists was astounding, for no sooner had they fairly settled themselves on the coast than eager eyes were turned to the west and soon whole congregations were on the way to found newer homes in the interior. This great westward trek was largely New England from the very beginning and ceased only when the waves of the far and unknown Pacific had been reached.

Bear in mind that the original migration was not sensibly increased by any stream of immigrants before the middle of the 19th century and that prior to that time, that is by 1850, there had migrated across the Hudson River to various western points over one and a half million New Englanders. Of these some 13,000 had already reached the Pacific coast and over 200,000 were west of the Mississippi stretched from the wilds of Minnesota to the slave-troubled Kansas-Nebraska borderlands, where their New England place names still survive them.

But if New England was fecund it was equally virile. The outburst of mechanical genius which was the basis of our industry was accompanied by the flowering of our greatest literary age the production of our most illustrious philosophers.

We have neither the time nor space here to record the harvest of the Puritan crop, but let me quote briefly from the pen of an octogenarian Yankee now living in California, who, like his colonial ancestors, sighs a bit for the beloved homeland. He writes: "It strikes me rather remarkable, even for Massachusetts, to discover that, of all the people who have been elected to the Hall of Fame, by nation-wide vote, and whose birthplaces are spread over 16 states and 7 foreign countries, no less than 27 or 37½ per cent of the total 72 elected, were Massachusetts born. It recalls vividly the remark of Daniel Webster in his reply to Hayne, "Massachusetts, there she stands." He then continues, "An airplane pilot circling over old Concord, on a clear day, may see all of the towns and cities where these 23 were born, the farthest town being less than an hour's ride by auto away. But Old Concord was not unique. We of Worcester can point with equal pride to a series of inventions of the first importance in their effect on our daily lives, all of which

were the product of local genius. Let us mention only the Type-writer, the Sewing machine, the Spring Bed to say nothing of such revolutionary devices as the Cotton Gin, the Carding Machine and the use of Ether as an agent to relieve human suffering.

But what of the present? I am impressed every day with the boundless energy of our people and the great variety of the fruit of their activities. Consider yourself. You live today, here, better than any king of old has ever lived. For sustenance, you take toll of the fruits of the wide world, in variety and quality never before known. Your homes are more comfortable and sanitary than anywhere else in the world. At the end of a wire in your chamber you may talk with whom you will or listen to the world's greatest symphonies. A turn of the dial and you listen to the latest news from afar, an operatic production, or a Presidential message.

So I trust that you will agree that the Puritan Migration to New England was the planting of a great stock in a congenial soil and that the essential culture was in and of them and that the cultivation process is still in active process in our midst.

It is only by continuing this harrowing, weeding, fertilizing work that we shall continue to build up our citizenry. Eternal vigilance is truly the price of that Liberty so bravely planted, so hardly won, and which it is our daily privilege to safeguard.

## EARLY BLAST FURNACE OPERATIONS IN WORCESTER COUNTY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Zelotes W. Coombs, February 8, 1929

The industrial development of Worcester County, indeed of all New England, has been a tribute to native perseverance, coupled with Yankee ingenuity. Handicapped in natural resources, our ancestors brought to the rugged shores and sterile fields of New England a leadership in industrial undertakings of which we, a later generation, may well be proud. This county has been a leader in producing men of genius; in some lines, as, for instance, the manufacture of wire and of woodworking machinery, it has led the world. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider that long list of immortals who first saw the light of day among its rugged hills, Eli Whitney, the Howe brothers, Thomas Blanchard, Erastus Bigelow, and the others.

Certain lines of manufacture have seemed almost indigenous to certain localities, leather, textile, iron and steel in their infinite forms, the chair industry. So we have the shoe towns of Lynn and Brockton, the textile centres, Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford, nails and tacks about Taunton and Fairhaven, chairs in northern Worcester County. But Worcester County has received within its borders, or has seen started there, every one of these industries, and infinitely more. Today it has representatives of most of them, and the city of Worcester itself, a great industrial centre, second in the state only to Boston, owes its prominence not only to its skilled and intelligent workmen, but also to its wide diversity of manufactured products.

To the casual observer it may seem odd that numerous manufacturers of iron and steel early found a home in Worcester County. It was, however, the demand for the finished products rather than the supply of raw material, that called the industries into being. So we may easily understand how the water power on the many streams of the county, at first employed in grinding grain and in sawing lumber, was presently diverted to the forging of hoes, shovels, scythes, axes, cutting tools of every variety, fire-arms, builders' hardware, all articles of prime necessity to the



pioneers of those early days. These articles had been forged by hand in earlier times, and the blacksmith was a most important member of society. His skill and his ingenuity were powerful factors in the industrial development of the entire country, and fully as much in that of this county.

As time went on foundries were established at many centres, and from them came every form of cast iron product, hollow ware for household use, stoves, furnaces, the infinite variety of articles that the foundry yields. The development was logical into simpler forms of machinery, the joint product of blacksmith and foundryman, with the skill of the woodworker often contributing.

Then came the most complex forms of machinery, the application of steam power to supplement water power, later of electricity. The crude and simple shops and factories that lined Mill Brook, Tatnuck Brook, Beaver Brook, and Kettle Brook, gave way to the immense plants that make Worcester the great industrial centre it is; plants that today could find in Worcester's streams, hardly sufficient water for making steam; plants that are now drawing their power, in many instances, through the electric wires from sources hundreds of miles away.

In Whitinsville, then a part of Mendon, where now stands the great factory of the Whitin Company, a forge was in operation more than 200 years ago. Sutton was early famed for its hoes, scythes, and shovels, Millbury for its firearms, and Armory Village still preserves an echo of that industry. Leicester was the home of the manufacture of card clothing, Douglas produced its famous axes, and so on through the list.

The iron and steel were largely imported as raw pig or bar iron, but, strange as it may seem in these days when Pittsburgh and Birmingham are turning out their millions of tons of iron and steel annually, there were a number of blast furnaces in Worcester County in early days, which actually smelted the poor bog-iron ore found in various localities in the county by means of charcoal produced from the trees of the forests. These furnaces were indeed crude, as were the methods employed. So, too, the product was crude but it served until changed conditions brought new demands, new methods, and new sources of supply.

That iron is the most important metal needs no proof. The use of iron in its varied forms marks the development of the human



race from barbarism to civilization. Cast iron, wrought iron, and steel have been known from the earliest times. The Egyptians were familiar with iron and with the methods of obtaining it probably before the time of Moses. The Assyrians also used it at an early date. Steel manufactured in India found its way very early into Persia and the West under the name of Parthian iron.

Iron occurs in many ores in nature but never in a pure form, except possibly in meteorites. The percentage of the metal in the ores varies from as high as 72 per cent in magnetic iron ore ( $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ ), down to 20 per cent in what is called black-band, a form of clay iron-stone.

The variety of iron ore of especial interest to us in our discussion is the brown hematite, or hydrated sesquioxide of iron ( $\text{FeO}_3, 3\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ). This form of ore, when loose and porous, is called bog-iron ore, and this is the form of ore used by the earlier blast furnace operators in Worcester County. Its percentage of iron varies from 25 per cent in the poorer specimens, to over 60 per cent in the richer. This brown hematite occurs in many other parts of New England besides Worcester County. The deposits in Salisbury and Kent in Western Connecticut are especially rich. Here the ore is also called limonite. This Connecticut ore is compact, unusually rich in metal content, and the iron made from it formerly enjoyed a high reputation. Similar deposits occur at Richmond in Western Massachusetts, and at Cumberland, R. I. The iron produced at these two localities has also stood high in quality.

The hematite, or bog-iron ore, the material employed in the blast furnace operations of Worcester County, is of such interest in this brief sketch as to merit a fairly full discussion. I quote from Hitchcock's report on the Geology, Mineralogy, Botany and Zoölogy of Massachusetts, published in 1833:

"In the western part of Worcester County and over a large extent of territory, the process by which bog-iron ore is produced and deposited is so manifest that it deserves description. The gneiss rock there abounds with the sulphuret of iron. This is continually undergoing a decomposition by the action of air, heat, and moisture; and becomes changed, first, into an oxide, and then, some of it, into a sulphate. The oxide usually imbibes more or less of carbonic acid from the atmosphere, and is changed into a carbonate, which is soluble in water. Or, the oxide being washed

from the rocks by rain, into cavities, meets with water containing carbonic acid by which it is dissolved. Once dissolved it is readily transported to ponds and swamps, and there deposited by the evaporation of the water. In the region above referred to, this process may be witnessed in all its stages. By breaking the rock we find the sulphuret unchanged, while the surface is coated over with the oxide, sulphate, and carbonate. The soil, also, to a considerable depth, exhibits very strikingly the color of iron rust; and in the low grounds the bog-ore is abundant."

"Probably," Hitchcock goes on to say, "a similar theory will apply to the production of this ore in other parts of the state; though I know of no spot where the process is so obvious as in Worcester County. Indeed, the fact that very many of our bog ore deposits are buried several feet deep by soil, and occur on dry ground, shows that in these places the process of its formation has long since ceased. In several ponds in the southeast part of the state, it is said, however, that it is forming rapidly."

This poor material formed, then, the basis of the early iron industry in this part of the country.

The earliest form of blast furnace in which the iron ore was worked was probably merely an excavation on the windward side of a hill, into which the ore was introduced, with the fuel, generally charcoal, and some form of flux, usually limestone. Under the intense heat, molten iron was produced, and this, being heavier than the rest of the mass, sank to the bottom of the pit and was drawn off. The slag, being lighter, could also be drawn off through an opening higher up.

As time went on an artificial blast was applied by means of a rude bellows of skin, worked, first by hand or foot, later by horse power, finally by water power. The form of furnace called the Catalan still embodies these simple essentials, although many additions and improvements have been made. A description of the furnace used in Massachusetts will be given later.

When our ancestors came to this country they brought with them a strong iron-working tradition. Iron had doubtless been manufactured in Britain by the Phoenicians soon after they discovered the island about 600 B.C. Caesar found plenty of iron there when he landed in 55 B.C. Hadrian, 120 A.D., built a great military forge at Bath. Intermittently iron was made in the

British Isles during the Middle Ages. But in 1588, in the reign of Elizabeth, severe laws were enacted by Parliament to prevent the further destruction of the forests in the manufacture of charcoal for iron smelting purposes. Coal was then tried and was successfully employed as early as 1619, but importations of iron from Russia and Sweden continued large. Ultimately English production of iron greatly increased, new processes were invented and perfected, and finally steel was produced so cheaply and in such quantity that it has largely supplanted wrought and even cast-iron.

The development of the iron industry in this country offers many interesting phases. The Indians, whom the first settlers found here, had no knowledge of iron, save, possibly, in exceptional cases, where practically pure iron had been found in meteors. The metal was first produced in America in a bloomery, as it was called, of the Virginia Company, by John Berkeley, in 1622, on the James River, about twelve miles below where Richmond now stands. This forge was soon destroyed by the Indians, and the Virginia settlers, finding the tobacco trade so profitable, produced no more iron until 1724.

The people in Massachusetts Bay built an iron-mill at Lynn in 1631. Little came of this effort. But in 1644 a blast furnace was set up at Hammersmith, in what is now Saugus, then a part of Lynn. In 1646 a blast furnace was erected at Braintree, and in 1652 one in that part of Taunton now forming the town of Raynham. These three undertakings were directed by the same London company, John Winthrop, Jr., being the representative in this country. The company agreed to produce and sell bar iron under £20 per ton. Many iron pots and other articles of hardware were produced and found a ready market. During King Philip's War the various furnaces were compelled to suspend operations, but after the year 1702 the increasing price of iron in England gave profitable employment to the iron-makers, and the manufacture of iron became a regular industry in the colonies, along with many others that had sprung up and become firmly established. In the year 1702 a furnace was built at Plymouth, and it was followed by many others in that part of the country, a strong factor in their location being the abundant supply of bog-iron ore, as well as the ready market close at hand. It may be noted here that, as time went on, ore of higher grade was imported from New Jersey or

Pennsylvania, and mixed in the blast furnace with the poor bog-iron ore. The low grade of ore demanded much more fuel than that richer in metal content, hence the forests in the vicinity of the furnaces suffered severely. All the blast furnaces of that time made castings directly from the furnace. Later pig-iron was imported directly from Pennsylvania for use in the New England furnaces, being melted there and then run off into molds. By this time many other blast furnaces had sprung up in different colonies, and some had become famous for their products. In New York, the furnace at Ancram, built in 1740, and using ore from the famous mines at Salisbury, Conn., produced over 3300 tons of pig-iron and over 1300 tons of bar-iron from 1750 to 1756. At this plant was forged, in six weeks, the great iron chain weighing 186 tons, stretched across the Hudson River at West Point in 1778.

Early in the 18th century so much iron was being produced in the colonies that a considerable quantity was exported to England. Agitation against such trade soon followed and in 1750 Parliament passed a law absolutely prohibiting, as a common nuisance, the production of bar-iron and steel in the colonies. Pig-iron was still produced and exported in large quantities. With this prohibition came renewed activity in the iron industry. But the American Revolution seriously interrupted this industry except for military purposes, and for years after the Revolution foreign competition practically eliminated the manufacture of iron and steel in the colonies. Not until 1790 did it revive. That year saw the report of Alexander Hamilton which strongly favored the adoption of the protective policy for this country. This policy stimulated the iron industry, as it did so many others.

I have mentioned the establishment of blast furnace and various forms of iron manufacture in Plymouth and Bristol counties. The heavy forests there, furnishing the charcoal, and the rich deposits of bog-iron ore in the ponds and lakes of that district, were leading factors in the growth of the industry. Bridgewater became an iron-working centre, so Carver, Kingston, Plympton, Easton, Norton, Middleboro, Wareham, Halifax, Dighton, Weymouth, Taunton. In 1798 the counties of Plymouth and Bristol had in operation 14 blast furnaces, six air furnaces, 20 forges, seven rolling and slitting mills, and many smaller nail and blacksmith shops. Blast furnaces were also established in other parts of the state, where



good ore and forests to supply charcoal were found, especially in the Berkshires.

Today, when we contemplate the concentration of the iron and steel industry of this country in such vast centres as Pittsburgh, Pa., and Birmingham, Ala., we marvel that our own Worcester County at one time boasted several blast furnaces that were in successful operation for many years. Iron in the form of the sulphide, iron pyrites, occurs in many places in the county. But this form of ore, because of its large sulphur content, cannot be worked profitably for the production of the metal although it has a distinct value as the source of copperas, that is, iron sulphate. In 1828 there was opened in Hubbardston a plant for the manufacture of copperas. A new road was constructed that year from Hubbardston to Templeton. The workmen, cutting through a ledge, discovered a rich deposit of iron pyrites. The copperas plant established at that time was in successful operation for many years, its product enjoying a high reputation. Ultimately, however, the manufacture was given up, the cost of labor and of transportation being so high.

Bishop, in his history of American manufactures, notes a blast furnace erected on the Ware River, in Hardwick, prior to 1773. He also mentions bloomery forges, that is, blast furnaces, erected in the towns of Mendon, Harvard, Western, the old name of Warren, once a part of Brookfield, and Northboro. He speaks of iron works at Westminster, and we know that there was a rod and nail mill there on the Wachusett River, at Wachusettville. Bishop also speaks of a forge in Douglas, supplied with ore from a mine in Uxbridge.

Now there were, undoubtedly, blast furnaces at Hardwick, Western, or Brookfield, Northboro, and in Mendon, at what is now Whitinsville and at what is now Blackstone, or just over the state line at Woonsocket. At Douglas was the famous forge that produced the axes but I question whether Douglas ever possessed a real blast furnace that smelted the ore. No record exists of such a furnace at Harvard. But the blast furnaces that did exist used the bog-iron ore so fully discussed previously, which occurs in the tertiary formation throughout Massachusetts. The flux employed was limestone. This occurs but infrequently in the eastern part of the state but is, of course, abundant in the western part, the marbles of Lee and adjacent towns having long been famous.



Joseph Washbourne, of Braintree, who established one of the blast furnaces at Hardwick, received a grant from the General Court of a limestone tract in Ashfield for the use of his furnace. Only four deposits of limestone are known in Worcester County. There is the famous quarry in Bolton, worked for many years as a source of lime for mortar in building construction, and visible today, an object of beauty and of interest although no longer a source of lime. Doubtless some of this Bolton lime found its way to the nearer blast furnaces for use as a flux. There is a deposit of limestone in Northboro, on the Marshall Maynard farm in the Ghost Hill district. The kiln at the Bolton quarry is still standing, and that in Northboro was standing until recently. Small limestone deposits have been located in Millbury and in Webster, and these possibly contributed flux material for smelting purposes. It is interesting to note that the furnaces nearer the seaboard made use of the seashells so abundant there. But this use of the shell-fish so interfered with the food supply of the colonists that the General Court passed a law putting a stop to it.

Dr. James Thacher, who was one of the proprietors of the famous Federal furnace, at Carver, has left a good description of a blast furnace of the period. This Federal furnace was erected in 1794 and Dr. Thacher wrote his description ten years later. Even at that date, although the production of pig-iron had nearly ceased in Plymouth County, there were ten blast furnaces in operation for making castings, besides as many forges employed in the manufacture of bar iron from scraps and old cast-iron. These forges produced about 200 tons of bar iron annually.

The Federal furnace was 20 feet high above the hearth, and eight feet wide at the widest part. The blast was produced by two huge bellows, 22 feet long by four feet wide, producing alternately the blast through power furnished by a water-wheel 25 feet in diameter. Two or three blasts of 16 to 18 weeks each were made in this furnace continuously, during which 360 tons of hollow ware and other castings were produced. For producing this amount of iron and castings 2130 cords of wood, converted into 1420 loads of charcoal were employed, the value of this charcoal being \$3,550. The ore used amounted to 726 tons, costing \$6 per ton, a total of \$4,356. Two sets of stone were needed for the hearth, and the bill for this was \$153.32. The foundryman was paid \$1 per ton, a

total of \$360. The compensation to the moulders and other workmen amounted to \$2,331. Thus we see that the total cost of producing iron castings directly from the blast furnace was not a slight one. (Approximately 120 bushels of charcoal were required to smelt one ton of iron.) In addition to the hollow ware of all kinds, this furnace produced at that time such articles as rolls for slitting machines, cast-iron cylinders, the huge kettles used in the manufacture of potash, also for various farm operations, stoves, fire-backs and grates, plates, anvils, hammers of all kinds, andirons, many varieties of cannon shot, and varied forms of machinery for mills and factories.

This furnace and its products are mentioned in some detail because they may be considered typical of the blast furnaces of the period. And we must remember that among the colonists of New England domestic utensils were not numerous, and that many of those now in use and very generally of sheet iron, copper, or aluminum, were at that time but poorly supplied by much cruder vessels of cast-iron.

The actual processes used by those early founders are interesting and have been transmitted in great detail. The hearth of the furnace was of sandstone, as were the sides up to a height of about three feet, firebrick being used above that. Every six days was called a "founday," and during this time about eight tons of iron, on an average, were smelted. Twenty-four loads of charcoal were required for the operation, a load being 80 bushels. To every load of charcoal, one load of "mine," as it was called, containing 18 bushels of mixed and broken ore that had already been roasted, was added. The blast was at its height in about ten weeks, and a hearth of good stone would last forty foundays, or weeks. During the period of a blast the fire never went out. The hearth was never used a second time.

The forge of the period had two hammers, one called the finery, the other the chafer. Under the finery the iron was brought to a state of blooms and auconies, as they were called. The bloom was a mass of iron four square, two feet long, prepared by hammering a "loop," or mass of metal weighing about 75 pounds with iron sledges, upon an iron plate, and afterward with the forge hammer worked by water power. This operation was called "shingling the loop." After two or three more heats at the finery the mass was

brought to an "aucony," the middle of which was a square bar of the desired shape and size, and the two ends rough square lumps. At the chafery the bar was completed by reducing the ends to a uniform size with the middle portion. Three loads of large wood coal made a ton of iron at the finery, and one load of small coals at the chafery. A man and boy at the finery would make two tons of iron per week, and two men at the chafery would make five or six tons a week.

It was a noteworthy coincidence that pine forests were always found in the near vicinity of iron ore deposits. The charcoal made from pine wood was especially prized in the process of producing iron, the belief being that the quality of the iron was better if pine wood charcoal were used. One and one-half cords of wood were estimated to produce 80 bushels of charcoal, and six men could manufacture 200 loads of charcoal in three months. As noted above, a load of charcoal was composed of 80 bushels. An acre of well-wooded land would yield about 20 loads. About 120 bushels of charcoal were required to smelt one ton of pig-iron. Each furnace employed eight or nine men, besides woodcutters, coal-makers, carters, and common laborers.

The blast furnaces in Worcester County were in Hardwick, Western, now Warren, at that time a part of Brookfield, Northboro, and at two places in Mendon, as the town then existed. The furnace at Western, or Warren, was near the centre of the present village of Warren. It was on the Quaboag River, just above the present bridge crossing that stream at a point beyond the public square. The privilege was known as the Hayward privilege, George Hayward had built a saw and grist mill there about 1720. The blast furnace was 30 rods below the mill barn. The ore was probably secured from Lake Wickaboag in what is now West Brookfield, and the limestone may well have come down from Ashfield, from the Washbourne grant. Another iron furnace was later built on Five-Mile River, in the extreme northeast corner of the present town of Warren. Jonathan and Nicholas Jenks built this furnace and were later joined in partnership by Daniel and Wheat Gilbert. This enterprise continued about twenty years but was never profitable.

In later years Jonathan Stevens built a grist mill at East Brookfield, and subsequently a company was formed to operate a blast

furnace and machine shop there but the undertaking did not long continue. The present Lake Lashaway in East Brookfield was formerly called Furnace Pond.

The furnaces at Hardwick, of which there were two, in different locations, were for years important industries in that town. At the original division of lands by the proprietors, a mill lot, sometimes called, also, the saw mill lot, was laid out, and included part of what is now called Furnace Village. Moose Brook, a lively stream now, as it was then, furnished the water power, and that power is used even today. A saw and grist mill was erected at an early date, later a cloth finishing mill. About the middle of the 18th century a furnace for the manufacture of iron hollow ware was constructed. This was before 1763. It furnished employment to many persons for over sixty years. By far the greater part of the ore for this furnace was procured from Lake Wickaboag in West Brookfield, being dredged from the bottom of the lake and transported over the road in ox-drawn carts. The flux was probably the limestone brought down from Ashfield under the grant to Joseph Washbourne noted previously. In spite of the large expense entailed in procuring the iron ore, the business yielded a satisfactory profit for many years.

The products of this furnace were varied. Among them were kettles of various sizes including the enormous ones used in the potash industry, then an important one, teakettles, pans, spiders, skillets, and even smaller kitchen utensils. For all of these a ready market was obtained.

During the war of the Revolution this furnace rendered especially valuable service in furnishing the articles just enumerated and, in addition, cannon balls of various calibre and other munitions of war. In October, 1776, a call went forth from the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the militia of Worcester County and of other sections of the commonwealth to march to Ticonderoga on some alarm. The owners of the Hardwick furnace thereupon addressed the following petition:

To the Hon. Council and the Hon. House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay in New England, humbly show Stephen Rice and James Wood in behalf of themselves and partners, owners of a furnace at Hardwick in the County of Worcester, that your petitioners have agreed to furnish the commissary



general of this state with a large quantity of cannon ball and other material and stores, a part of which we have already supplied, which are allowed to be of the very best kind. We have with difficulty by reason of the scarcity of labor procured stock for making another blast. Wherefore, your petitioners pray that thirty persons, which is the number employed in carrying on our business of said Furnace, may be excused from the present or a future requisition of men during our present blast, from said towns of Hardwick and New Braintree. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

STEPHEN RICE  
JAMES WOOD

Dated at Watertown, October 25, 1776.

At this furnace a blast continued for five or six months, the fire not being extinguished during that time. Relays of workmen gave unremitting service, and there was no break even on Sundays. The workmen hailed with great jubilation the day when the fire was extinguished, or, as the technical expression, was "blown out." Of necessity this must occur from time to time, for the purpose of making repairs. When the fire was extinguished a hilarious celebration followed, lasting several days, in which drunkenness and rioting were by no means uncommon.

Early in the 19th century another furnace was erected on the Ware River, about a quarter of a mile above the dam at Gilbertville. This was still in Hardwick, the location being named the "New Furnace," in distinction from the "Old Furnace" already mentioned. The name, "New Furnace," was applied to the entire neighborhood until it was superseded by the present name, Gilbertville.

The projectors of the new enterprise were Col. Thomas Wheeler, a blacksmith and a very superior and skillful worker in iron, and Mr. Lemuel Harrington, formerly a tanner but retired from business. In the *Massachusetts Spy* of July 12, 1815, Jesse Bliss advertised that "the new furnace lately erected by Harrington, Wheeler & Co., on Ware River, in Hardwick, is now in blast." But the business was not successful, and was not long continued. In 1818 Colonel Wheeler removed to Ticonderoga, in New York, and his successors in the business had neither his skill nor his energy as iron-workers or as men of business. We may note in passing that



Col. Thomas Wheeler was the father of William A. Wheeler, who was later manager of the furnace in Western, and, after that, proprietor of an extensive iron foundry in Worcester. The furnace of Harrington, Wheeler & Co., was on the spot now occupied by the large factory of the Gilbert Company, on the west side of the Ware River.

Rev. Peter Whitney, in his *History of Worcester County*, published in 1793, says that there was a blast furnace for the manufacture of iron from bog ore in Northboro, and that many tons of iron had already been made. Jonathan and Ephraim Cobb built the iron works between 1782 and 1787, and they were probably the manufacturers who produced the iron mentioned by Whitney. In 1791 Dr. Stephen Ball purchased the property, and near its western boundary established works for the extraction of potash from wood ashes, a very common and important industry at this time. The production of iron ceased, but the buildings, with the trip hammers remained for many years.

The deposit of limestone on the Marshall Maynard farm in the Ghost Hill section of Northboro, has already been mentioned. Limestone from this deposit was doubtless used as a flux in the Northboro furnace.

Jonathan and Ephraim Cobb bought, in 1772, the land on the east side of the Assabet River, where the furnace was established. They had the right to erect a dam, which they did, thus obtaining power for their trip hammers and bellows. In 1786, Jonathan Cobb sold his undivided half of the property for £75 to James Godfrey, blacksmith. The property at that time included two coal-houses, a blacksmith shop and forge, or iron works, also bellows, anvil, hearth-plates, and other material. The ore was obtained from the meadows of the Assabet River. "There is," says Whitney, "in the vicinity a great plenty of ore, especially of the bog kind." The iron produced here was of poor quality, so brittle as to be called "cob iron." Tools made from it were necessarily large and clumsy and often broke vexatiously, as one historian says, thus stopping a day's work.

Whitney speaks of a blast furnace at Mendon. Probably there was such a furnace at the Falls, where Woonsocket now stands, and it was in operation as early as 1698. Iron ore had been found near East Blackstone, and the name, Ironstone, still applied to a district

in the present town of Uxbridge, indicates this. But at an early date Northbridge was included in Mendon, and Whitney may have referred to the blast furnace established at the Falls of the Mumford River as early as 1700. At a town meeting in Mendon, Sept. 16, 1700, it was voted that "no person shall carry away any mine or iron ore out of or from the town common under penalty of 20 shillings." This shows that iron ore existed in that part of the country. The furnace on the Mumford River was established there because of the fine water power, the abundance of wood for charcoal, and the expectation of finding ore in the vicinity. The furnace was located about 20 rods below the bridge, on the south side of the river. For years after the actual smelting of iron had been given up here a forge was maintained in the same spot, and hoes and scythes were manufactured there. It was on this site that Paul Whitin, founder of the great Whitin establishment, began his work as a blacksmith. Thus for over 200 years the iron industry, in some form or other, has been carried on at this very place.

Douglas was famed for its axes at a very early date. Whitney speaks of a furnace as existing in that town, and of Wallum Pond as the source of the bog ore supply which it used, but no records of such a furnace have come down, although Douglas axes were famous as early as 1790.

The forge and slitting mill at Wachusettville, on the Wachusett River, in Westminster, has already been noted. No record of any blast furnace there has come down to us. There were, undoubtedly, other iron working establishments of various kinds in other towns in Worcester County, and these establishments produced a wide variety of products. The mills included forges, trip hammers, slitting machinery, and no town could do without its blacksmith shop. And from these various iron working shops, large and small came the endless variety of articles needed by the growing communities. But other blast furnaces than those discussed above can hardly have existed in Worcester County. If they had they would have left some record.

Thus we have traced, superficially, the early blast furnace operations in Worcester County, and we have hinted at the beginnings of the iron industry now so important here. Our ancestors, who settled in Massachusetts, including Worcester County, were ever on the alert for some natural resource which would supplement the

sterile soil and the rocky fields. They were early driven to the production of iron, the metal, from the poor bog-iron ore, through sheer necessity. And this poor ore served its purpose, for the time being at least. The last furnace was blown out more than a century ago, but the impetus given by that early and crude undertaking still survives in the countless manufactures of iron and steel that make Worcester County the great industrial centre it is. And that early undertaking is still represented in the determined spirit that has made this county preëminent for its inventors, that has made New England, poor in natural resources, ever a leader in industry, that compels us today amid changing conditions and in the face of countless discouragements to have faith in our future.

## FRANKLIN P. RICE

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Every brain-worker should practise some kind of handcraft by way of avocation. Hoeing potatoes will do, on a pinch, if your talents and interests provide nothing more attractive, but the man who never knows the feeling of a callous on his palm, or a good old ache along his spine, induced by physical labor, misses something very worth while out of life. Nowhere else perhaps has this happy union of mental and physical been better expressed than on the printer's device which Mr. Rice adopted and used on the products of his press: "*Mens cogitat; servat manus.*" In his own case was this sentiment particularly applicable, as he tells us in that remarkable human document "*Time-Notes of Franklin P. Rice*" (on which this paper is almost exclusively based) that his regular system of composition was to stand before his type-case, with his composing-stick in his hand, and to put his thoughts directly into type, without writing anything out first. In view of this remarkably free and easy system, the literary and stylistic results achieved are usually admirable. Certainly Mr. Rice practised his own preaching, for most assiduously did his hand preserve what his mind thought out!

Franklin P. Rice, an only child, was born in the neighboring city of Marlborough, July 29, 1852, and was brought by his parents to Worcester in the following year; his continuous residence in Worcester, however, dates from 1857. Of his name he says: "I was named Franklin by my mother, after a cousin, and the middle name, Pierce, was interpolated later by my grandmother Felton, whose local pride was exalted by the election of a President from her native state—New Hampshire." It may be said here that his mother's influence dominated his entire career. It was his mother who gave him his name; tutored him at home instead of sending him to school; helped him in his record-work during forty years; traveled at his side all over this country, and finally, at the age of seventy-five, accompanied him to Europe.

Not that he was wholly a stranger to the public school; in his "Who's Who" sketch he states that his education was largely



private; on page 23 of his "Time Notes" we read: "I remember that when I, at the age of eleven, made my first application to enter a public school, the teacher declined to admit me, saying that if I had never received regular instruction I was not qualified, but, after a brief examination, she acknowledged her mistake, and I was within a few days placed at the head of the first class. . . . In preparation for the study of medicine I went through Silliman's Chemistry the year that I spent on my grandfather's farm (1870-71) . . . Fownes' Chemistry, adapted to the new lines of that science, I took up later, but within a short time I abandoned my hope of a professional course, and this, with my other medical books, was put away. In 1872 and later I took courses in botany and mineralogy under private instruction, and became deeply interested in the investigation of both sciences, particularly mineralogy."

Disappointed in his plans for entering the Harvard Medical School in 1873, because of certain unexpected developments, he pursued a policy of studious waiting during five of the ardent years of early manhood, till in 1878, at the age of twenty-six, he believed that he could see his way clear to the pursuit of his favorite studies. "But the same adverse forces again intervened, and I finally relinquished the purpose, but with deep regret. . . . I then thought that this was the great disappointment of my life, and that the effect of it would be irreparable, but a more mature judgment has convinced me that I did not have physical power enough to meet the exacting duties of a successful physician."

As an autobiographer Mr. Rice, through his natural shyness and secretiveness, irritates the reader at times by withholding important personal details essential to a proper estimate of his life and character. What were the exact causes obliging him to forego his medical studies, restraining him from marriage, underlying his troubles with the Society of Antiquity, involving him in expensive and protracted litigation, he never explains in any way satisfactory to the reader. "I could readily squander \$1000 then in *law*" he bursts out unexpectedly (p. 304) "but could expend only little in rational enjoyment and improvement." The veil which he has chosen to throw over those important matters will probably never be lifted, and since this was his wish perhaps it is better thus.

Before the close of his seventh year, in March, 1859, Mr. Rice's



young life came near being snuffed out by the dreaded scourge of small-pox. As soon as the attending physician learned that his juvenile patient had not been vaccinated, "he informed my mother that she had a case of small-pox on her hands, and asked to be taken to my father, who was ailing in another room, and he pronounced his trouble the same as mine; administered his medicines for both, counselled my mother, and took his departure, leaving her with the two patients for the night to face the grim realities of the situation. She was equal to the conditions, resolutely met them, and not only took care of the sick ones without assistance, but performed her household duties, even to the baking of bread, until my grandmother came a week later; and she did not go to bed for twelve nights, until after I was pronounced out of danger. . . . The physician declared that my mother's assiduous nursing had saved my life."

Taking him at his word, we must believe that Mr. Rice possessed a retentive memory, as he tells us that he can remember dimly certain events of his third year, and that from 1856, when he became four, in July, his recollection was comprehensive and clear, up to 1915. As a young lad his spirit was mightily stirred by the portentous events leading up to the Civil War, whereof he cites many striking examples:

"I remember vividly many incidents of the political demonstrations of the years that preceded the war-time. The illuminations and the torch-light processions of the Wide-awakes, with the music of the bands, excited my youthful enthusiasm to a high pitch, though I did not know what the commotion portended. I was not of an age to go to the indoor meetings but I was taken by my parents in the evenings through the fall to the Common or some other central place, whenever extraordinary outdoor parades and fireworks were promised."

"An invention which attracted attention during my childhood days was the steam Calliope, which was originated in Worcester in 1856 by J. C. Stoddard. This was an adaptation of a combination of steam whistles to the musical scale. Mounted on railroad trains, it was used with great applause during the Fremont canvass of 1856, and has since been popular on western river steamboats, discoursing music heard for miles. I knew Mr. Stoddard and saw him last in 1876. He was then going to Philadelphia with an improvement of his Calliope, to demonstrate it at the Centennial."

To manual labor Mr. Rice was never a stranger, but his most strenuous period of hand-work must have been during the season of 1870-71 on his grandfather's farm in Marlborough. Owing to his relative's advanced age, and the difficulty of securing assistance, it became necessary for young Franklin, barely eighteen years old, and a younger cousin, to cut by hand and store away the entire crop of ten or twelve tons of hay; small wonder that they took the two long months of July and August to do it.

"The apple yield of that year was phenomenal; in addition to twenty or thirty barrels of the better grade of fruit, we gathered over three hundred bushels of cider apples, which we sold at the mill for ten cents a bushel. . . . In the cold season we cut a stock of birch and alder wood to be used in the following summer. The round of the year gave me an insight into practical work which has been of great benefit in after life, and while I am aware that I did not possess the physical power necessary to become a successful farmer, I have, at times, had a feeling of regret that I was obliged to submit to my limitations of strength and execution."

At this time the lad Franklin measured 5 feet, 11 inches in height, but weighed only 128 pounds, never exceeding 140; even then he was of nervous and highly sensitive temperament. He goes on to say of his physique and appearance: "but as I was round-favored, and of a rather ruddy complexion—the effect in part of small-pox, which left its traces in this way, and in part due to my out-door life, which I have always instinctively pursued—I had the appearance of a more robust habit. Lack of physical strength, which was exceptional, in my case, and an extremely sensitive nervous organization, unfitted me for many of the conditions of life which are passed through with indifference and success by the majority of mankind. I possessed, however, a power of endurance and of concentration which was a mystery until I came to understand my case, in a degree, after a long period of theorizing and experimenting. I found that certain conditions were essential to my comfort and well being, and that certain rules must be rigidly enforced to maintain these. I was naturally temperate in food, and had no inclination toward tobacco or strong drink; and with good power of digestion I was relieved from half the menace and danger, which assail and often conquer humanity."

The genesis of Mr. Rice's connection with the printing art is of

such importance that, at the risk of filling this paper with quotations, I must direct your attention again to the "Time-Notes."

"A circumstance of apparently little importance, at first, but which proved to have a momentous if not a controlling interest over my life's work, took place some time in March, 1871. Before I returned to Worcester I purchased in Boston a small printing-press, and type enough to set about one octavo page. I was influenced in this act by the desire to put into permanent form certain historical materials which had come to my notice, and to make copies for distribution; and in my medical and scientific studies I thought that the press would be a useful adjunct in various ways. In fact, one of the first uses to which I applied the type was in producing a series of cards with names of minerals as given in Dana's Manual, to illustrate the cabinet of specimens I was then forming."

Most of the 122 items comprising the truly amazing bibliography of books and pamphlets printed by this assiduous craftsman were produced on a No. 3 Columbian press which cost the owner \$38.00. This statement has been received with incredulity, even by intelligent members of the printers' guild, but, apart from Mr. Rice's explicit statements, the facts almost speak for themselves. These items run all the way from a few cards and single sheets up to the elaborate and complicated Fanning Genealogy, comprising 872 pages, in two stout octavo volumes. A hurried analysis of Mr. Rice's typographical and topographical activity (for he spent much time traveling around the county on brief journeys) during the forty-four years between 1871 and 1915 shows a total of thirty-eight items of twenty-four or fewer pages; thirty-eight between twenty-five and one hundred pages; and thirty-three exceeding one hundred pages, totaling the imposing figure of 11,041 pages, chiefly octavo and duodecimo. If we reflect that thirty-three of these titles represent material written, compiled or edited personally by Mr. Rice, we may judge that his days, including evenings, Sundays and holidays, provided little leisure.

As a type-setter and proof-reader Mr. Rice showed such meticulous care and intelligence that it is probably ungracious on my part to point out that he was also human, and that on two successive pages of the Time-Notes one may meet a proof-reader's error on each page.

The reading habit Mr. Rice inherited from his mother, and maintained through life. The novels of Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen and the Brontës were Franklin's companions during his tender years, while "the more solid and excellent emanations of mind were by no means neglected . . . the "Courtship of Miles Standish" gave me a liking for the English hexameter, and some other pieces in the same volume impressed me—"The Golden Milestone" and "Daybreak"—while certain passages in his "Prometheus" thrilled me, young as I was. The first thing of any length or character that I was able to read aloud was the tenth chapter of St. John. This was some time in my sixth year, and I remember that the effort was considered quite an achievement."

"I began to take books from the Free Public Library in 1862, and I followed this for about ten years. The first volume I read was "Esperanza" by Anne Bowman, and this was selected for me by the librarian, Mr. Zephaniah Baker, a man of remarkable parts and some peculiarities, but whose knowledge of books was phenomenal."

That Mr. Rice was emphatically his mother's boy, possessed by what the modern analysts call a mother fixation, is evident to any reader of the "Time-Notes." Mother and son were constant companions, she at first guiding and directing his studies, and then, for half a century, sharing his literary aims and efforts, helping him as copyist and amanuensis, and finally, past the age of three score and ten, accompanying him on his one grand fling: the journey to Europe in 1908. In fact one may suspect, with no documentary support, that when Mr. Rice speaks of pursuing the subjects of botany and mineralogy "under private instruction" he really means that he and his mother puzzled them out together, in winter evenings, around the kitchen lamp. With his father he apparently had little sympathy, though it is to be feared that the last third of his parent's life was much clouded mentally, as we read on page fifteen that "In 1862 he fell from the second story of his house, striking his head upon a pile of stones. The effects of this accident were not at once apparent, and the consequences were not fully realized until after the lapse of several years, when marked eccentricities developed a condition of mental aberration with which his life closed."

Before reaching the age of twenty, Mr. Rice began collecting a



private library which at one time numbered more than 3000 volumes. These were shelved in three book-cases, and so well did their owner know their places on the shelves, that, in spite of their being crowded in double rows, he was generally able to find what he wanted in the dark. This simple statement gives the plainest evidence of the true regard and affection that Mr. Rice had for his books.

Though not a humorous man, Mr. Rice was not blind to that saving grace. Take an example from an experience in the cemetery of his native town, as noted on page 340 of the "Time-Notes": "The principal recollection that I have of that day is my contest with half a dozen dogs that had established headquarters in the Spring Hill burying-ground, and resented the intrusion of a stranger with loud vociferation, and the indications of an immediate dental attack upon my person. Two or three well directed stones cooled their ardor, and they retired to a reasonable distance, keeping a watch on my proceedings. The attitude of one dog, with a paw raised, head cocked one side, one ear up and the other down, watching me intently, struck me so comically that I resolved to get his photograph, and approached him cautiously with the camera. He suddenly set up a loud protest, and with his associates beat a hasty retreat, leaving a vista of six pairs of hind legs swiftly vanishing in the distance."

Again, referring to insect pests at Meredith: "Some years the presence of the evil is hardly noticeable; in others the torment becomes unendurable after a few days, driving me back to the city for relief. However, I can tolerate mosquitoes better than I can human blood-suckers anywhere, and I allude to this trouble as one of minor annoyance."

Soon after the close of the Civil War much local interest was shown in a so-called liberal or radical movement, fostered by Prof. William Denton, an Englishman of magnetic personality, who delivered a popular and successful course of lectures here on geology. Toward the end, however, he made so many criticisms on the authority of the Old Testament as to antagonize the church people and cause them to withdraw their support. Nothing daunted, Denton's supporters hired Mechanics Hall for several more lecture courses in successive seasons. There can be no doubt as to the ultra radical character of this movement, from the religious viewpoint;



the Bible and Christianity were to be dethroned, and their places taken by spiritualism, logic or ethics. Mr. Rice's own spiritual views are here set forth:—

“I acknowledge the eternal principles of truth and equity, and I hope for a continuance of individual existence beyond the present condition, for which I feel that our conduct here will prepare us, as we may exert and control it. To do justly and to love mercy are the tenets of my creed, though I may fall far below this ideal in practice.” That Mr. Rice maintained no church affiliations will not seem remarkable if we reflect that he had no religious training as a child, his mother having dissolved her connection with Unitarianism and his father failing, through indifference, to maintain his standing with the Universalists, after moving to Worcester.

The seriousness and extravagance of this movement are set forth by Mr. Rice in some detail. “It will be difficult to indicate to the average mind of the present time, adjusted as it is to the irresponsible contemplation of spiritual concerns, the intensity of feeling, and the almost frenzied attitude with which many of the church people regarded the efforts of their assailants to break up the foundations of their faith. To them the attempt appeared solely as blasphemous and sacrilegious, and its participants were deemed worthy of the extreme penalties of common and moral law. Violence was once in a while resorted to, in lieu of argument. . . . Stones were thrown, and other harsh means used in the purpose to drive the offenders away.”

Of his own connection with this movement Mr. Rice tells us that he was disposed at first to be deeply influenced, but soon recovered his mental poise. “I early discovered that there was a liberal as well as an orthodox or religious *cant*, and also the disposition, or failing in human nature, to dominate in one direction as in the other. So within a short time I broke away, and have never since fallen under the power of any system of man-made theory or belief.”

The interval between 1871–78, called by Mr. Rice the waiting period, was one of hope deferred, uncertainty and disappointment for him, but of great importance for us, as it saw the birth of this Society. Of these critical and harrowing years, when as a young man, he should properly have been launched on a definite professional career, the autobiographer says: “And yet the period from

1871 to 1878 proved, in its experiences, foundations and connections, perhaps the most valuable one in my life's trial and discipline, not only in the development of faculty and intelligence . . . but also in the formation of certain strong friendships, which, of life long duration and powerful influence, are my most precious memories, now that their representatives have passed from earth; and in addition some of my most important enterprises were originated, if not brought to a finish, and my identification with certain courses, upon which whatever small portion of credit for originality and execution I am entitled to, rests, was established." The foregoing paragraph is not only a striking example of the possibilities of mental concentration as applied to the composing-stick, but also a sufficient answer to the charge, if ever made, that Franklin P. Rice lived the life of a recluse, unillumined by human sympathy.

As to the origin, and specially the name of the Society of Antiquity, an effort should be made to retrace a half-century and more, and to seek to comprehend the basic purpose of the founders. As stated in the Constitution, it was designed to "foster in its members a love and admiration for antiquarian research and archaeological science, and to rescue from oblivion such historical matter as would otherwise be lost."

Samuel E. Staples, the first president, at the period of the middle 70's was an agent for the American Encyclopedia, but styled by Mr. Rice, tall, erect and high-headed; he was manager of two grocery-stores, and quite awe-inspiring to Mr. Rice's sensitive and delicate nature. Mr. Staples, who was devoted to archaeology, as manifested in the discoveries of Schliemann & Cesnola, is named by Mr. Rice as the founder of the Society of Antiquity (as we will call it for now) and our chronicler goes on to tell us plainly that the passion of a single individual for his hobby established the trend of this infant organization "for the study and consideration of these large subjects, which fitted the measure of his mind, and not for the purpose of mere local history." In the light of this revelation (as I trust it may be to some) the Egyptian pyramids, sphinx and obelisk, with the enormous cinerary urn (twice the size of the pyramids) on the Society's seal, assume an appropriateness perhaps not previously realized.

For spreading the reputation of an individual or an organiza-

tion, no agency can compare with the printed page; a discovery early made and acted upon by the infant Society of Antiquity, whose motto "*Litera scripta manet*" carries out the idea most admirably. The first volume of Collections appeared in 1877 from the local press of Tyler and Seagrave, containing besides an essay on the origin of the Society, two or three editions of its Constitution; the President's address by Samuel E. Staples; "*Vestiges of American civilization*," by Charles R. Johnson; "*Genealogy*" an historical or general essay by Ellery B. Crane, together with reports of business transacted. The treasurer's report for 1877 shows a total of \$5.00 handled. The date of the famous first meeting, attended by Messrs. Staples, Rice, O'Flynn and John G. Smith, was unfortunately printed by mistake (and several times repeated) as January 24, 1875. Mr. Rice points out (and is supported by the *Old Farmer's Almanac*) that the 24th was Sunday, the correct date being Saturday, the 23rd. Fourteen years later the four founders reassembled and were photographed (reproducing the original scene) as may be noted opposite page 161 of the "*Time-Notes*."

In spite of the declaration of the Society's platform toward archaeology and general historical research, most of the printed matter issued under its seal, relates to local affairs. An explanation may be that Mr. Staples, the prime founder, stood for archaeology, but as Mr. Rice's influence began to predominate, the pendulum took a sharp swing into the local orbit.

Commendatory letters on the work of the Society were received from Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Andrew McFarland Davis, C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian of Massachusetts, and Dr. Edward Everett Hale, among many others. Said the latter: "I read every word you print, and I wish you saw your way to print more. Unless we preserve in our day and generation just what you are preserving, another generation will have no detail or color in its history."

Although Mr. Rice's name is most closely associated with the work of this Society, especially during its early period, it is not my purpose to essay anything along the line of its history, and will, therefore, refer to one or two matters of interest to Mr. Rice as one of the founders, prefaced by the remark that, from the viewpoint of publication (which spells recognition by other societies) our Society was most fortunate in having attracted the interest of

Franklin P. Rice (who was able and willing to print their publications most efficiently at a low price) and of the late Stephen Salisbury, whose financial aid was so substantial. Among the imprints noted on the early issues of this Society is that of Hon. Clark Jillson, who almost rivaled Mr. Rice as a hand-printer.

Most unfortunate was it, on the other hand, that an originally small group of enthusiastic citizens banded together for purposes of historical research, should not have been able to escape the dissensions which creep in to undo the painstaking work of years. Just what were the seeds of trouble—by whom planted, watered, fostered and developed? Mr. Rice fails to tell us specifically, mentioning no names nor exact facts, insisting, however, that about 1890 trouble began to brew, affecting fundamentally the growth of membership, character of the programs and general efficiency of the organization. Specially inauspicious was the building of the present headquarters under these conditions in 1891.

As official printer to the Society, Mr. Rice, according to his repeated statements, took a five-year lease of the attic area as his printing office, which must have been hot in summer, though he tells us that he had steam-pipes installed, and does not complain of the cold. Hardly was he established, however, before his enemies began a persistent movement to eject him, pursuing their tactics with malevolence and almost success till the close of his tenure in 1896. This unpleasant affair is presented so obscurely as to make most unsatisfactory reading.

Quite different is the account of Mr. Thomas H. Dodge and his relations to the Society. In 1907 there arose what Mr. Rice justly calls a ludicrous proposition to change the Society's name to that of the Dodge Historical Society, for which personal privilege the aged inventor was prepared to pay \$23,000 cash down, and \$15,000 more to come later. A "secret conclave" as Mr. Rice terms it, was instituted to handle this delicate matter, but our friend got wind of the affair and walked in on the conspirators. Seconded by Mr. Nathaniel Paine, Mr. Rice blew so cold and strong a blast on the proposal that it froze up at once and has never thawed out since. Mr. Dodge promised nothing in writing, and the absurdity of the whole project was absolute.

Luckily the unhappy decade of the nineties, fraught with so many worries from various sources, saw the birth and development



of a new and unlooked for interest: a summer home at Meredith, New Hampshire, on the famous Lake Winnepesaukee. The sale of the Chandler Street property in 1886 had given mother and son a new freedom; they traveled together, during four years, to New York City, Philadelphia and Wilmington; then to Berkshire, Albany, and down the Hudson; later to Portland and Augusta in Maine. In August of 1891 his intimate friend, Samuel H. Putnam, whose substantial "History of Co. A., 25th Regiment," Mr. Rice had successfully printed five years before, urged him to visit rural New Hampshire, and so, delighted beyond measure by the beauties of the region, Mr. Rice presently bought the Veasey farm at Meredith and made it his summer home. He even proposed to move up his printing plant, and establish permanent headquarters, but, country boy as he was, he found the attractions of Worcester too strong, and the advantages of a city too essential, for one of his interests, and abandoned the idea of permanency before advancing beyond the point of drawing plans.

As no attempt is made in this rambling paper to present an exact chronology, an account of Mr. Rice's one grand dissipation—the European journey—may be given here. In some ways it appears that our modest and timid friend did not really wish to go; he could not see the requisite \$1800; he dreaded the ocean voyage; he believed that his mother, at the age of 75, was too old for the undertaking, and he would not consider going without her. She had been his unfailing companion not only on all the trips previously mentioned, but also on several longer ones, to Virginia, West Virginia, Kansas, Florida, Montreal, etc. To account for this greater financial freedom, the reader is greeted with the perplexing statement that "in 1900 the prospect began to lighten, and with the building of the Meredith house my condition became much easier in financial ways." Still we have no intimation of any financial profit accruing from the Veasey venture.

At first he was unwilling to reopen the European project even with himself, having laid it away in that capacious chest containing his blighted hopes; soon, however, he sounded his parent rather dubiously, confident of an emphatic negative, and perhaps dismayed at her cheerful enthusiasm for the plan if it could be properly financed. Next he sought the advice of two doctors, and they, too, surprised him by their unanimous and favorable opinion.



So they actually boarded the *Cymric* on May 23rd, 1908, and enjoyed immensely their cathedral tour of England, with a visit to the rest of the British Isles, Holland, Belgium, France and Switzerland. On the short passage from Scotland to Ireland mother and son were both seasick, and at Belfast the latter felt the stern necessity of getting out of bed at night to drive rats out of his fire-place.

"Of the countries we visited, England, Holland and Switzerland pleased us the most, and France least. We could not, of course, judge properly the character of the French people in a sojourn of a little less than a week in the capital, but of the proverbial courtesy and politeness of the French we saw nothing. . . . The traffic in the streets was a perfect bedlam of noise and confusion, and the place seemed auto-mad, the sound of fish-horn toots mingling with the rush and jar of other vehicles in the wild attempt to compete with the motor. I saw two women run down in the effort to cross the street, but somehow they scrambled like rats from under the machine. In England, on the contrary, I found more moderation, and a more open manifestation of kindness."

Regarding the controversial merits of "sea-sick medicines" our traveler tells us that he invested a dollar in a supply of "Antinauseic granules" confidently recommended by two medical friends. . . . "These seemed to have no effect with us, as we felt the same degree of nausea in going, when we tried them, as in returning, when we did not."

Another instance of our friend's unwillingness to tell the whole of a story directly may be drawn from a visit to the battlefield of Waterloo where "I had a very narrow escape from what, it seems to me, would have been a horrible death. I was within 100 feet of my mother and the guide, but neither perceived the incident, and it so shocked my sensibility that I resolved never to divulge the nature of it."

Mention of the guide reminds me that Mr. Rice, having put his hand to the plow on this great adventure, drove his furrow deep and straight, employing guides and couriers when needed to make their sojourn in a foreign country more comfortable or efficient. Realizing his last supreme opportunity to give his mother a good time, he did a splendid piece of work.

Returning to his Worcester home at No. 12 Berwick Street, Mr.

Rice took up again his accustomed duties, pursuing his regular routine for another decade, till death finally overtook him, after a brief illness on January 4, 1919, in his 67th year.

Before closing, it is my purpose to refer briefly to several of Mr. Rice's bibliographical and typographical ventures, in order that we may get a little better perspective on the entire result. Among the 46 items edited or compiled by him but *not* printed on his press, the "Worcester of 1898," a copiously illustrated octavo of 800 pages, is perhaps the best known. The idea of publishing a memorial volume in honor of the completion of a half-century of Worcester as a city, was brought by Mr. Rice to Mr. F. S. Blanchard, who enlarged the plan and engaged him as editor at \$30.00 a week and a share in the profits. "I gave the whole of 1898, and about a month of 1899 to it. . . . The book yielded a handsome profit to the publishers, but my share did not materialize in a satisfactory proportion, and some contention followed. I finally managed to obtain about \$1,000 for my thirteen months' time, but resolved not to become involved again in a connection of this kind."

Another reference book in frequent use in our library is the handy little "Dictionary of Worcester," the copyright for which Mr. Rice sold to Mr. Blanchard for the ridiculous price of \$100 plus twenty-five copies of the book. Here again the compiler had some financial disagreement with his publisher, involving a second edition and reprint from the "Worcester Commercial."

Of another type but equal interest is the "Worcester Book," not an over felicitous title, but an original volume of 159 pages, listing 850 events in our local history, business or social life, arranged by the calendar from January 1–December 31. Opening at random, on December 10, you may read the following:—"1856. B. L. Batcheller of Sutton drew a barrel of beans on a hand-sled from Sutton to Worcester in fulfilment of an election wager with T. W. Short of Worcester. The bet was made on the result of the presidential contest: Buchanan vs. Fremont. Mr. Batcheller, wearing snow-shoes, left Sutton at 10 a.m. and arrived at the lower end of Green Street at 3.30, where he was awaited by a large concourse. A procession was formed, headed by a band of music, and proceeded through Main Street to the Bay State House, Mr. Short riding in a barouche. Here the beans were delivered to Mr. Short, Mr. Z. K. Pangborn making the presentation speech, to which Mr.

Calvin S. Pratt responded, speaking from the top of an omnibus. An immense crowd blocked the street. A bean supper was served to a large company."

The greatest satisfaction which Mr. Rice derived from his work as a printer was probably his ability to put into type certain useful manuscripts which, but for his aid, might have fallen into oblivion and perished. Conspicuous among these is Mr. Joseph Jackson's "Through Glade and Mead" whose charming nature-love and human sympathy are so admirably combined in the dedication "To the Sutton farmer and his little granddaughter who, although differing much in age, were one in the common love of the wild nature around them in glade and mead, and whose love is only a type of that which fills many hearts both in city and country, in grateful remembrance of their kindly appreciation this book is dedicated."

First among the books printed by Mr. Rice, but written by his friends, he placed Samuel H. Putnam's "Story of Company A." In this the editor's quick appreciation "distinguished a quality in his manuscript different from that of most military histories.... The "Story" was sprung upon the members at their reunion in 1886, and each one was presented with a copy. A great sensation ensued in military circles... the comments of John C. Ropes and Major W. H. Hodgkins are remembered. The balance of the edition of 175 copies was placed on sale, first at \$3.00 per copy, but as the book became scarce the price advanced until it reached \$10.00.

The "Narrative of Amos E. Stearns," prisoner at Libby and Andersonville, and member of Co. A, Mr. Putnam intended to include as part of his history, but Mr. Rice offered to print it separately, which he did in an edition of 250 copies.

Although the Rev. George Allen was Mr. Rice's senior by more than half a century, and nearly eighty years old when they first met, a close friendship sprung up between them which was maintained till Mr. Allen's death at the advanced age of eighty-eight. It was the latter's ready familiarity with Latin which enabled him to coin so promptly the motto: "Mens cogitat; servat manus" for Mr. Rice. In return, his young friend prefixed an appreciative memoir to the veteran clergyman's book of reminiscences, issued before the close of 1883.

Dr. Nichols' admirable "Bibliography of Worcester," and the book-form of that little gem of local history "Carl's Tour in Main

Street," edited by Mr. Rice, should not be passed over in a single sentence, but time presses and we must hurry.

The same should be said of the "History of the Seal of the Society of Antiquity" by Franklin P. Rice, reprinted from the Proceedings of 1888. The several original designs submitted for selection were rescued from the danger of the waste-basket by the writer, who had the plates made and prepared the account.

Here it may be said that Mr. Rice had a true instinct for proper standards in type-forms, letter-press, format and typographical style in general. It is the writer's opinion that such specimens of Mr. Rice's press-work as have come to his notice bear absolutely no marks of the tyro, but will compare favorably with the best printing in the land.

But of course Mr. Rice's greatest title to our respect comes from his public record work; to him more than perhaps to anyone else is due the fact that the vital statistics of so many of our central Massachusetts towns and cities are now available in printed form. As a testimonial of this notable achievement a complimentary dinner, under the auspices of this Society, was tendered to Mr. Rice at the Lincoln House, on November 3d, 1897, with Mayor A. B. R. Sprague, Public Record Commissioner Robert T. Swan and several of Mr. Rice's intimate friends in attendance. In his address on this occasion the guest of honor referred at length to the origin and progress of his record work, dating from 1869, with special reference to the Systematic History Fund. This modest capital, representing private subscriptions amounting at one time to \$4,000, was invested and expended under Mr. Rice's sole direction. When sufficient funds were available, he would issue a book of vital records, whose sale he hoped would enable him to publish some later volume. His financial summary of the nine volumes of Worcester Records is: total cost, \$10,880; total receipts, including a city appropriation of \$2,500, \$5,319.

For this memorable occasion Hon. Samuel A. Green wrote up from Boston: "I am glad to learn that the work of printing the Worcester records is nearly completed. I know by experience that such undertakings never pay from a money point of view, but your reward comes from knowing that it is a good thing for the city of Worcester, and that future antiquarians and historians will appreciate your work. The series of publications which you have edited

with so much care will be an enduring monument to your industry and zeal. I am led to make these reflections from knowing how little the average citizen cares for the critical labor of historical scholars, among whom I rank yourself." Perhaps this scene of the devoted, persistent, temperamental compiler, seated at table with a few enthusiastic friends gathered to pay tribute to his solitary and often disheartening labors, is the best place for us too, to clasp his hand and say goodbye.



## WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### Report of the Executive Director for the year 1937-38

In a Society such as ours the normal activity of Museum and library remains fairly constant from year to year. There is great variety, however, in the number of our visitors and in their reactions to what they see, to what they learn, and to what they, in turn, contribute to us. And as they find interest in what they see and learn, it is thought that you as members of the Society might be interested to note our activities and be perhaps stimulated to participate in them a little more actively where our mutual interests come in contact.

The fact that we are a local society would seem to circumscribe our activities, but such is not the case. Consider that in American life our city is an old one, and the activities of her citizens have been representative of the normal civic growth in this country. It follows then that the objects we receive and display while representative of their times, may be of more than local interest. A Jacobean chest, a Colonial rocker, a set of Sandwich glass, or a mid-Victorian whatnot may be found in any good historical museum, but our pride is that these things are also part of the life of Worcester and have been in our homes, used by our own people. The value of a donation to us is not represented by its intrinsic worth, because an antique rag doll, a bleeding knife, or a shaving mug may be quite as representative of a period as a more costly item.

So we desire to report to you that the Museum is growing, that during the last year we have received two hundred fifty-four objects. They have varied in size from a large mahogany desk to an earring, and in age from ancient Egypt to the World War.

By rearrangement and purchase of additional show cases we have been able to display most of the recent acquisitions. We are grateful to the many donors whose thoughtfulness has enriched the Museum, and desire to invite your attention to the bequest of the late Mrs. Helen B. Southworth through whose kindness we received some beautiful specimens of antique furniture, Sandwich glass, and candlesticks.

The library grows constantly through regular exchange of

Historical Society publications, Government Reports, and local school and college papers and annuals. It is felt that the latter are best recorded in our files. Books by local authors, books published in the city, and those on local subjects are sought, and each year many new ones are acquired. We are collecting, too, a small library of authoritative literature on subjects related to our own collection, and would gladly welcome any additions thereto. Oddly enough we need a good set of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* which may not necessarily be new.

During the past year, we have had working on our manuscript collection a team under the auspices of the Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A. They have examined, arranged and classified our complete collection of over 20,000 pieces, and have so catalogued them that they are made easily accessible. This work has been of inestimable value to the Society and one which in the normal course of events might never have been done. While their work was in progress, many interesting documents came to light. One, the diary of a soldier of the French and Indian Wars in the original, was of great local historic interest. Then, too, some sheets of a medieval bible written in German were uncovered, the illustrations to which were antique wood cuts by an artist, named Schieffelin, who was a student of Albrecht Dürer. The complete engineering data for the construction of the Blackstone Canal were found. From them some future engineer may again make a seaport of Worcester.

Our biographical file consists of local clippings. We would appreciate donations of items of local interest from out-of-town papers which we do not see. We file also articles of a local historical nature. Many of these are referred to frequently and this file should be the repository of articles about local affairs, inventions, machines, or events.

We seek to collect more photographs, especially of street scenes, houses, buildings, and groups of representative citizens, or of school classes. Individual photographs are always welcome if the name of the subject is affixed.

Our usefulness to the community is in daily evidence. The museum is visited by groups from grammar and high schools, by Historical Societies in the County and outside, by societies who have special hobbies, and by the patriotic groups, i.e., D.A.R., Sons and Daughters of 1812, etc. In addition the Society has arranged special

loans for events such as the unveiling of the mural to Diggory Sargent. The Director has been called upon to address various local societies on several occasions during the year. A collection of several portraits of famous Worcester inventors has been arranged so that visitors may be properly impressed with the genius which has blossomed so fruitfully in this section of the Commonwealth.

We are proud of the accomplishments of the men of this city and county and feel that it is the especial function of this Society to impress our visitors with these facts and to stimulate our youth to emulate the deeds of their sires.

## MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE SEASON

1937-1938

On Saturday, October second, the Worcester Historical Society joined with the Worcester County Historical Society in a pilgrimage to Mendon and Uxbridge. Rev. Robert C. Westenberg, pastor of the Uxbridge Congregational Church was in general charge. Points of interest in Uxbridge and in Mendon were visited, under the direction of Mr. Westenberg, assisted by many guides who explained the historical significance of the places visited. Luncheon was in the Parish House of the Congregational Church in Uxbridge, at which brief remarks were made by several members of the Uxbridge Historical Society and others.

This joint meeting took the place of the regular October meeting of the Worcester Historical Society.

The regular meeting of the Worcester Historical Society took place in the Society's building, November twelfth. The address was by Captain George I. Cross, Executive Director of the Society, on the subject: "The New England Migration." At this meeting the resignation of Mr. Frank Colegrove as Librarian was received and was accepted with regret, many expressions of esteem and appreciation being given by members present. It was voted that a letter of appreciation be sent Mr. Colegrove. Refreshments were served at this meeting.

On the evening of January fourteenth, 1938, the regular meeting of the Society was held in the Society's building, the address being given by Prof. Z. W. Coombs, on the subject: "The Fugitive Slave Law, and the Underground Railway." President Cunningham announced the destruction, by accident, of the heating plant in the Society's building, also that an appeal would be made to members for money to install a new plant.

At this meeting, as at all meetings, Executive Director Cross spoke of recent acquisitions in the Museum, calling especial attention to some of the notable ones, many of which were placed on exhibition in the hall for the inspection of the members present.

The regular February meeting was held in the Society's building on the evening of the eleventh, the speaker being Dr. Peter O. Shea, whose subject was: "A History of the Worcester Department of Health."

At this meeting President Cunningham announced that the appeal for funds to replace the heating plant of the Society had been prompt and most generous, and that the new plant had already been installed.

The regular March meeting was held in the Society's building on the evening of the eleventh, the speaker being Mr. Warren C. Lane, whose subject was: "Historical Flasks and Bottles." This interesting talk was illustrated by numerous examples from Mr. Lane's private collection.

The regular April meeting was held at the Society's building on the evening of the eighth, the speaker being Mrs. Josephine Pierce, whose subject was "The Fire on the Hearth." This address treated of the development of stoves, etc., in use from the earliest times. It was illustrated by numerous photographs, etc.

The regular meeting of the Society for May was held on the evening of the thirteenth at the residence of Mrs. Sutton Lyseth, 46 Beeching Street. The speaker was Mrs. Lyseth, who displayed her large and famous collection of dolls, and discussed the collection from many points of view.

On Saturday, June fourth, the Society joined with the Worcester County Historical Society, in a pilgrimage to Petersham, as guests of the Petersham Historical Society. Under the guidance of members of the Petersham Historical Society various places of interest were visited, explanations being given. Luncheon was in the vestry of the Unitarian Church, after which the party adjourned to the old Chandler mansion, where addresses were given by Mr. Chandler Bullock on the Chandler family, by Mr. Irwin Dorward, present owner of the mansion, on its history, and by Prof. Z. W. Coombs, on the general history of Petersham. At this meeting some 160 were present. Like the other pilgrimages of the Society this proved most interesting.

The Annual Meeting of the Worcester Historical Society was held in the Society's building, Friday evening, June tenth. The usual reports were read and accepted. The election of officers resulted as follows:

President—Mr. William H. Cunningham.

Vice-Presidents—Mr. Zelotes W. Coombs, Mr. John W. Higgins, Mrs. Anna M. Marsh.

Treasurer—Mr. Dwight S. Pierce.



Secretary—Mr. Ripley P. Bullen.

Executive Committee—the above and Mrs. William T. Forbes, Mr. Albert Farnsworth.

Program Committee—Mr. Coombs, Miss Cornelia Forbes, Mr. George B. O'Flynn, Dr. Philip H. Cook, Mrs. Robert K. Shaw.

Hospitality Committee—Mrs. Donald W. Campbell, Mrs. Jefferson W. Coe, Mrs. Benjamin F. Burley, Mrs. Harold L. Blood.

Note: This brief summary of the meetings of the Society during the year 1937-1938 is based on the complete record kept by the Secretary.







The  
Worcester Historical Society  
Publications

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 4

September, 1939

Published by  
The Worcester Historical Society  
Worcester, Massachusetts





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## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1939-1940

*President* . . . . . ZELOTES W. COOMBS

*Vice-Presidents* . . . . . { JOHN W. HIGGINS  
MRS. ANNA M. MARSH  
EDWARD F. COFFIN

*Secretary* . . . . . RIPLEY P. BULLEN

*Treasurer* . . . . . DWIGHT S. PIERCE

### *Executive Board*

The above-named officers and Chair- { MRS. WILLIAM T. FORBES  
man of Finance Committee . . . { ALBERT FARNSWORTH

*Finance Committee* . . . . . { GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE  
EDGAR L. RAMSDELL  
CHANDLER BULLOCK

### *Executive Staff*

GEORGE I. CROSS, *Executive Director and Librarian*

KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant*  
*in Museum and Library*

WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to Executive Director*

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## OLD WORCESTER GARDENS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Dr. Albert Farnsworth, May 12, 1933

Many years ago Ferrero, the leading modern Italian historian, wrote a book comparing the United States with ancient Rome. Great cities caused the fall of the Roman Empire, and because we are the more concerned with great cities than with country life he foresees a similar fate for the United States. It is true, of course, that the possession of a home and a garden is a very steadying force in the life of every fortunate owner. Working a garden has a sedative effect; with your feet in the soil your head is certain to be reasonably clear. Knowledge is born of the sidewalk; wisdom, of the soil. Where sidewalks end life begins. A nation's advancement is not recorded in feats of arms, but on green hillsides covered with grazing herds; in the waving of golden grain at harvest time; and in the curling smoke that rises from a thousand happy rural firesides like incense to the heavens. The possession of a garden by every citizen of the United States would solve many of the troubles of this fretful age.

By a garden I mean more than a plot of ground devoted to growing fruits and flowers. Open spaces where the eye may gaze off to distant hills; where Nature, undisturbed, works miracles with trees and flowers and brooks. In such environment man finds the spiritual repose, stillness, refreshment, and delight so necessary for a troubled soul. In such places God reveals Himself—not on Forty-second Street or in crowded tenements. In such environment poets have found their greatest inspiration and have produced some of their finest works. The artist, too, has ever found subjects for his brush, and the master composer, Beethoven, found his inspiration for his wonderful sixth symphony in the untrammelled paths of woodland with Nature his only companion. Vying with this musical poem are the pastoral poems of Theocritus, so ardent, so delicate, so full of flowers and birds, and sprayed with the music of fountains. Read him and win more ease than can be bought with gold. The gentle Vergil, too, has forever cast a spell over fields and woods and gardens. "What makes a cornfield smile? What star suits best for turning up the soil and marrying the vine to the

elm? What is the best method of breeding cattle and what weight of men's experience preserves the frugal commonwealth of the bees?" Vergil thus considered the husbandman's lot the happiest.

Thomas Edward Brown well expresses this same satisfaction from a garden in his lines:

"My garden is a lovesome thing, God wot!  
Rose plot, fringed pool, fern grot,  
The veriest school of Peace and yet the fool  
Contentds that God is not,—  
Not God in gardens? when the sun is cool?  
Nay, but I have a sign!  
'Tis very sure God walks in mine."

Being a past-minded man I love to live in other days and in different scenes. Might I choose I would live in the Golden Age of Pericles or in the Age of the Antonines, or better in the golden age of Worcester, that period from 1830 to 1860. I am sure my grandsire Adam would approve my choice for in those days Worcester was a veritable Eden recreated. Old letters, diaries, and newspapers of that period all reflect the leisurely and tranquil lives of the people. Those men and women whose long life spanned the Old and New Worcester have confided to me the joy of living in this age. Some of these have recently passed beyond and their words already have the sanctity and dignity of the departed.

This was an age of transition. The hoof, sail, and handicraft age was slowly yielding to the railroad, steamboat, and manufacturing. The small, homogeneous and agricultural village was giving way slowly but surely to a large, heterogeneous, manufacturing city. To many people change is synonymous with progress, as though going forward were necessarily advancing. But the past-minded man is led to reflect that swifter transportation has led to enormous loss of life, that the tempo of modern life has led to nervous disorders unknown to earlier generations. Our supposed gains may in the end wreck our civilization.

It was an age of great men. I doubt if any town in America, before or since, can boast of as large a number of really first-class minds as were living in the Worcester of this period. Call the roll: Levi Lincoln, 2nd, many times Governor of Massachusetts and the first Mayor of Worcester; Isaac Davis, lawyer and philanthro-

pist; John Milton Earle, talented horticulturist; Stephen Salisbury, the 2nd, benefactor of his native city; Clarendon Harris, Secretary of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, book lover, horticulturist and the friend of man, whose very presence was a benediction; Dr. John Green, founder of our Public Library; Dr. Samuel Woodward, head of the mental hospital; William T. Merrifield, manufacturer; Ginery Twichell of stagecoach fame; S. H. Colton, horticulturist; Daniel Waldo Lincoln, lover of plants, and his brother Edward, who founded our park system; Charles Allen, great lawyer, and founder of the Free Soil Party in Massachusetts; and there were many others.

In 1829 Clarendon Harris compiled our first directory and drew a map of Worcester. With the exception of Pleasant Street there were no streets extending over the western hills. When Levi Lincoln, 2nd, built his mansion on Elm Street in 1835 his fellow-townsmen were surprised that he chose to live so far out of town. Main Street and Lincoln Street were then lined with splendid interlacing elms, chestnut, and sycamore trees.

The ladies shopped in Barnard's for their spring gowns, bought their jewelry at Corbett's, the "best seller" at Harris's bookstore, and purchased their groceries at the Old Green Store. Small boys delighted to watch the "Lady Carrington" towed up the Blackstone canal to discharge a cargo of slate and grain at the Central Street basin. Worcester's most famous locomotive, the "Lion," puffed and snorted in the Foster Street depot impatient to return to Boston. Ginery Twichell's stagecoach lines still did a thriving business. It was a slow-moving, dignified, hospitable, and cultured community.

It was an age when as the late Mr. Waldo Lincoln told me "everybody had a garden." The interest in horticulture was great as was indicated by the fact that at this time, about 1840, the Horticultural Society was organized. In variety, display, beauty, and number of exhibitors, in proportion to the population its exhibitions excelled those of today. On September 26 and 27 of that year an exhibition of the Society was held in the Waldo Block. The hall was thronged both days. Dahlias and asters were shown in profusion. Mr. Salisbury contributed; Mr. William T. Merrifield exhibited a large number of potted plants; Mr. J. M. Earle exhibited twenty-nine varieties of pears, six of plums, eight of peaches, besides

grapes and small fruits. These men knew the joy of chatting over the fence with a neighbor and exchanging views of gardening as they rested on their hoes, and appreciated the fact that a home is only half a home without a garden.

It is no accident that the loveliest of books on gardens, "Old Time Gardens," was written by a Worcester woman, Mrs. Alice Morse Earle. She was born of a flower-loving father and mother. Her earliest associations were among the flowers and growing things. She lived in a community where "everybody had a garden."

And what were these gardens? Were they formal as many of ours are today? What furnishings did they have? Were they fenced in? What grew there? What was their purpose? Were they merely decorative? Did they merely form a hobby for a bored, world-weary life? Certainly no one who recalls the bobbing sun-bonnet of the grandmother as she picked the luscious ruby raspberries in the hot summer sun and carried them carefully so that they should not become bruised, to the great kitchen where they were changed into delicious drinks of raspberry shrub and vinegar, into jellies and preserves, can believe it was only for a hobby these gardens grew. No, they were twofold, and even in the more favored home the economic value of the garden was no small factor in its favor. Each home supplied its own larder to a very large extent, and vegetables and fruits were dried, preserved, or kept in cool cellars for winter use, and the delightful fragrance of lily and rose blended with that of thyme, tansy, and clove, for much of the kitchen savories grew among the flowers. Each housewife dried her own lavender that sweetly scented her household linens. Beautiful lilac, forsythia, spirea, and syringa hedges shielded the unsightly poultry yard which though unsightly was a very necessary part of each household. Even the huge weeping willow, standing shield near the lovely old colonial doorway, not only furnished shade and beauty but offered its huge arms to hold the rope for the swing where happy children swayed to the rhythm of its branches.

Old-fashioned gardens best describes them. They possessed a homey atmosphere. These Worcester gardens were all enclosed, shut in with high green hedges and vine-covered fences. Perhaps this seems selfish, but is not a garden for friends only? People do not know what they lose when they make way with the reserve, the



separateness, the sanctity of the garden of their grandmother. It is like writing down family secrets for anyone to read; it is like having everybody call you by your first name, or sitting in anyone's pew in church. How cozy and inviting was the garden of Anthony Chase on Nobility Hill after you had closed the wicket gate behind you! Even the front yard had an added charm because it was enclosed. The picture which our society owns of Frederick Paine and his wife standing beneath a bower of roses over the front doorway of the "Oaks" with beds of larkspur, phlox, Canterbury bells, foxglove, lemon verbena, primroses, dahlia, cinnamon pinks, and cornflower growing in sweet confusion running on either side of the house, presents a picture of contentment, peace and intimacy, of reserve and sanctity which is truly delightful. No one dashed in here and unceremoniously opened the door. No, the visitor opened and closed the gate very carefully, then knocked three times slowly with the heavy brass knocker. Mr. Paine greeted his caller with old-fashioned courtesy and ushered him into the parlor where from the southern window stretched the gardens notable for beauty, novelty, and variety of fruits and flowers. Mr. Paine's neighbor, Mr. William A. Wheeler, also owned a fine garden wherein he specialized in the growing of dahlias. In 1855 he exhibited eighty-three varieties of potted plants. But this leads to the fact that a considerable number of gardeners of this period built large and decorative greenhouses. Isaac Davis built one at his home on Nobility Hill; S. H. Colton, John Milton Earle, and Daniel Waldo Lincoln each had very attractive greenhouses, and Mr. Lincoln's must have been a very large one for in it he grew many aquatic plants. Mr. Benjamin F. Thomas wrote in 1874: "With all the growth in Worcester in wealth and culture there are no such gardens now as were those of William Lincoln, Frederick W. Paine and William A. Wheeler."

Why do we emphasize the gardens of this period? There are many beautiful gardens in Worcester today and a number of garden clubs, all very active and enthusiastic. But if you will investigate you will find the revival of interest in gardens very recent; and the tenseness of the modern age has driven man to look for that which will relieve somewhat the strain under which he conducts his business, and so the modern garden has developed to some extent as a hobby. But the gardens of Frederick Paine's day had another



value. I find no evidence of an independent fruit dealer in Worcester until near the Civil War period when Edwin Fawcett built a store and opened a fruit business near the home of Isaac Davis on Nobility Hill. Therefore we are not surprised that Isaac Davis should attempt to raise lemons and oranges under glass and be successful, too, as we are informed, nor that large and small fruits were grown on a large scale. There was then no western or southern competition in grapes, apples, peaches, pears, plums: each man raised his own fruits and, as elsewhere stated, each housewife filled her shelves with dried and preserved fruits for winter use, and grape juice, mint julep and raspberry vinegar took the place of ginger ale and present-day soda waters. The pride which was taken in the production of fruits is evidenced by the record that Mr. W. A. Wheeler exhibited eighty-six varieties of pears at the Horticultural Society in 1855; John Milton Earle exhibited one hundred and eleven, and Daniel Waldo Lincoln in 1857 exhibited two hundred varieties. There was friendly rivalry thus revealed, and a few of the varieties were the St. Michael, Iron, Dix, Burnett, Washington, Seckel, Sheldon, and Fulton. Earle's Bergamot is a monument to his skill as a horticulturist.

While the economic value of the gardens of this period must be stressed, it is interesting to note that the charm which spread itself over all this period from almost every angle is not born alone in our imagination as distance lends enchantment to the scene. Life moved slowly as we have said and there was time for the little courtesies, the little flourishes, the attention to detail which though not absolutely necessary add beauty and finesse to all its transactions. So the gardener, definitely concerned with the practical, yet had time for the beautiful; and the lovely old-fashioned gardens which we strive so hard to imitate were not the hit-and-miss affairs we sometimes think. They were the product of loving care, much thought and labor. Nobility Hill, to which I have previously referred, was the location of the village's aristocrats, and extended from a point opposite the present site of Senator Hoar's statue southerly to Austin Street. It was similar in appearance to our Court Hill, and on its ridge, running north to south, stood the Isaac Davis house, the Chandler-Barton mansion, Dr. Joseph Sargent's, then the home of Anthony Chase. The George T. Rice house occupied the southwesterly corner of Main and Chatham

Street (then called Corbett Street). John Milton Earle lived next door south, and just beyond where Nobility Hill ended, Samuel H. Colton lived. These homes all had very beautiful gardens, but to describe them in detail would be wearisome, for, after all, they were quite similar, particularly in kind of flower and vine and shrub. In the minds of these earlier residents of our fair city the wild flowers held a kindly place for the late Miss Frances Morse told me that she remembered picking buttercups and daisies on the front lawn of the Anthony Chase estate, showing that primal nature was not sacrificed for a trim artificial green lawn. I would like, however, to describe for you two gardens of the times. Mr. John Milton Earle was born on a farm in Leicester, Mass., and lived on Nobility Hill from 1840 to 1867. Horticulture with him was a passion and from childhood he had associated with growing things. His estate contained nearly an acre and Miss Jeanie Lea Southwick lived with her grandfather, Mr. Earle, from 1857 to 1861. With her permission I am going to let her tell her own story of this garden. To quote Miss Southwick:

“Near the barn were small fruit bushes: currant, gooseberries, white and black thimbleberries. In my grandmother’s recipe book, made in Nantucket in 1819 when she was preparing for her marriage and coming to Worcester, is a recipe for making currant wine, and one of the delightful days every summer of my childhood was in helping to pick the currants to make into jelly and wine;—wash-tubs filled with the fruit, two or three bushels, with Aunt Cynthia, the colored cook, squeezing and crushing and pressing; and a row of large bags hanging up to drip the juice. Scattered through this garden were fruit trees galore, especially pears. Mr. Earle very early began importing the trees himself, and when it came to bulbs he imported every bulb he ever heard of. There were also peach, plum, apple and quince trees planted here and there where there was an available spot. The books concerning many of these imported bulbs and trees were written in French, and John Milton Earle taught himself French so that he could read them. It was something of a trial to my schoolday French to be called upon to translate technical botanical descriptions of plants. In 1856 *The Flower Garden, or Breck’s Book of Flowers*, was published, and this Mr. Earle seized with alacrity and I think wanted every bulb and flower that was new to him to grow in his garden. This book

was given to me and after seventy-six years I can say that I know of no other book today of this particular kind that I would exchange it for. When we moved out to Home Street, one of its advantages was that there was land for a larger garden. John Milton Earle brought from the Nobility Hill garden many plants, and after sixty years I still have blossoming in my garden, fritillaria, crown imperial, a small variety of iris, lily-of-the-valley, crimson, white, pink, and cream peonies, white and yellow lilies, and one rose, a Baltimore Belle."

In 1849, Mr. Edwin Fawcett, a wholesale fruit dealer, built a home on the southeasterly corner of Irving and Chatham Streets in which he spent sixty happy years until his death in 1909, and developed during those years a garden which the late Miss Frances C. Morse considered the most beautiful in Worcester. Here were boxwood-edged deep beds of roses, fleur-de-lis, delphinium, tiger lily, primrose, foxglove, and Canterbury bells, and peonies imported from China. In this garden before any neighbor had a blossom or scarce a leaf, the crocuses, snowdrops, grape hyacinth and sometimes tulips blossomed in such profusion that on a Sunday noon on their way home from church in April flower lovers were always hanging over the low fence to gaze at the welcome early blooms. These flower beds were backed by rows of hollyhocks and back of them shrubbery which at the time of Mr. Fawcett's death had reached the size of trees. At the lower end of the garden was a small orchard of apple trees which made delightful playhouses for the children, some large trees bearing little early pears, and there were rows of bushes of golden honeyblob gooseberries; against the barn grew trailing trumpet vines and climbing roses and clematis; and enclosed about with hedges, were beehives, rabbit hutches, and a dove cote. On the back of the house was built an ell, the porch of which was overhung with wistaria, beneath whose shade the owner rested from almost ceaseless care of his flowers. Miss Morse's impression was that this was a sunken garden but that impression was made by the successive re-grading of the street. I find no record of any sunken or formal gardens in the sense in which we use the word today. Mrs. Fawcett and her two daughters still reside at 9 Einhorn Road and I am indebted to them for information regarding this beauty spot of old Worcester.

The general impression of the heart of Worcester was one of

great beauty. But the heart was not the only district blessed with rare gardens for on the Lincoln farm, located between Piedmont and Bellevue Streets, Mr. Daniel Waldo Lincoln, father of the late Waldo Lincoln, grew and exhibited two hundred varieties of pears. It is a fact that today practically every back yard along Pleasant Street to Park Avenue boasts one or more pear trees. Mr. Lincoln introduced the Washington and Beurre d'Anjou pear. His grape-ery was over one hundred feet long, and grapes for the market were grown in his hot houses. He raised and sold potted plants; he raised silk worms. His nursery was located at the corner of Linden and Elm Streets, and here in the greenhouse he built a large tank in which grew aquatic plants, among them the grandest and most wonderful of them all, the Victoria Regina Lily. It is a native of South America. The leaves are from five to six feet in diameter, of brilliant green color above and a vivid crimson beneath. The flowers are marvelous; the bud opening white gradually growing to a crimson with the full bloom which expands to eighteen inches in diameter. The late Mr. Waldo Lincoln remembered standing on one of the large flat leaves as a boy. The Lincoln farm then far out of town was a favorite gathering place for the young people of the town where handsome George Lincoln met with them.

The Burnside house standing on the present site of the Telephone Building at the corner of Elm and Chestnut Streets stood for three-quarters of a century. Flowers bloomed all about the house, and behind the house was a long enclosure of loveliness, sequestered, full of spiritual refreshment,

“The garden glows  
And 'gainst its walls the city's heart still beats  
And out from each summer wind that blows  
Carries some sweetness to the tired streets.”

There were shaded walks in this garden bordered with lilac, syringa, and spirea. Sweetly scented in spring, heavy leaved and cool in summer. The whole garden was a rich jewel worn over the city's heart.

The gentle Clarendon Harris was one of the founders of the Horticultural Society, and enriched its exhibitions with fruits and flowers, especially dahlias of which he was fond. His home stood on the site of the house now occupied by Mrs. Charles Washburn.



Levi Lincoln, 2nd, possessed a beautiful garden, the walks of which were lined with box. In this vicinity was the garden of Gov. Alexander H. Bullock, the sixth president of the Horticultural Society, which indicates his interest in flowers.

Mr. Lincoln's friendly competitor in the nursery business was Samuel H. Colton, who, with his family, lived for forty years on Queen Street. The pictures of their estate give the impression of spaciousness and this is borne out by the fact that Mr. Colton introduced the first horse-drawn lawn mower in America.

William T. Merrifield was born in Worcester in 1807. He lived in a large brick house on the site of his daughter's home, that of Mrs. William T. Forbes. His greenhouses and garden were at the foot of the hill on Highland Street and his farm surrounded the house. In 1847 a premium for cut flowers was awarded to his gardener, William McCormack, by the Horticultural Society. In 1860 he exhibited sixty-four varieties of flowers including gladiolus, fuchsia, begonia, salvia, and a year later fourteen varieties of grapes grown under glass.

Where do we always look for the first signs of spring but in the garden of Dr. Samuel Woodward on Pearl Street? Here for nearly a century the proud occupants have displayed an unrivalled bed of crocuses.

“'Ere man is aware  
That spring is here  
The flowers have found it out.”

All these gardens lent themselves to gracious hospitality. Judge Edward Bangs owned an estate opposite the Court House and for many years his home was a social center. His charming garden was a delight to all who had access to it, and there a glass of raspberry shrub or grape wine always tasted the more refreshing because of the delightful environment and hearty welcome. Perhaps the proximity to the home of the beautiful Mary Wheeler who lived next door added an attraction for the young swains of the day. Mr. Theophilus Wheeler, father of Mary, had an estate with a frontage of one hundred and sixty feet which ran back six hundred feet to Mill Brook. Two noble chestnut trees welcomed the guests to the Wheeler home; a large grapery, or grape arbor as we would call it, stood in the rear where the gurgling waters of Mill Brook



awakened all the romance one would wish. Rustic seats graced the grounds and the waters of a fountain danced in the sunlight. It did not require much courage in such surroundings for Mr. Bangs to find the opportune time to present Miss Wheeler a paper-covered almanac on which was written "To the accomplished, admirable, and adorable Mary L. Wheeler." Another suitor more bashful dared make her a similar gift but with her name only inscribed thereon. "Faint heart ne'er won fair lady."

Of the Salisbury gardens at Lincoln Square I can gather only the fact that they were very beautiful and extended to the site of the present Trade School. The Salisbury house on Highland Street was built in 1835. Many contemporary accounts speak of this estate as the "fairy grounds of Mr. Salisbury." Both the second and third Mr. Salisburys were enthusiastic horticulturists, growing in their large greenhouse, unusual and exotic plants. I have a picture of a bunch of bananas and a large pineapple grown under glass, of orchids and the Holy Ghost flower. From 1876 until after the turn of the century these gardens were tended with loving care by Mr. John Coulson. Much of the success and beauty of the more formal gardens of a later date was due to him.

Is it tradition or did Mrs. Forbes state at one of our meetings as fact that Mr. Salisbury entertained very graciously on the well-kept lawns under his beautiful trees at garden parties and especially for those out-of-town brides, newcomers to our city, at whose wedding, because of distance, Worcester people were unable to attend? It was understood that the bride at such parties would wear her wedding gown so that it might be seen and admired among her new friends, and for this occasion a bonnet to match the gown took the place of the bridal veil. It is a quaint and attractive picture.

These are the lovely gardens of the daytime and in their care many worryings and frettings were carried away, but who shall speak of a garden in the twilight and evening time?

"How sweetly smells the honeysuckle  
In the hushed night, as if the world were one  
Of utter peace and love and gentleness."

"And still within the summer's night  
A something so transporting bright  
I clap my hands to see."

And again only a poet could do justice to the description of a garden in the eventime when,

“There stands the primrose, that, as the night  
Begins to gather, and the dews to fall,  
Flings wide to circling moths her twisted buds,  
That shine like yellow moons with pale cold glow,  
And all the air her heavy fragrance floods,  
And give largess to any winds that blow.  
Here in warm darkness of a night in June, children came  
To watch the primrose blow. Silently they stood  
Hand clasped in hand, in breathless hush around,  
And saw her slyly doff her soft green hood  
And blossom—with a silken burst of sound.”

## SOME OBSERVATIONS IN REGARD TO OUR EARLIEST INDIAN INHABITANTS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Mr. C. C. Ferguson, March 10, 1939

According to the classification of Mr. C. C. Willoughby, Director Emeritus of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, there have been three quite distinctive Indian cultures in New England, the Pre-Algonquian, the Old Algonquian and the Later Algonquian, the last two both Algonquian, and the first of some different Indian family, either Beothuk or related to them.

In this paper I shall consider, in a rather sketchy way, some ideas in regard to the Pre-Algonquians and their replacement by the early Algonquians and some distinguishing artifacts of each.

The so-called Pre-Algonquians of New England, its earliest inhabitants, appear to have been woods Indians, living almost entirely from the products of hunting and fishing. The land was still covered with the primeval forest. They did not need, as did their successors, the Algonquians, to burn over large areas of land to provide ground for the cultivation of crops. There is no evidence to show that they knew anything of agriculture or even of the making of stone or clay pottery.

The area over which their culture extended, according to Mr. Willoughby, included New Jersey, northeastern Pennsylvania, New York, all New England, Canada, from Ontario to the Atlantic Ocean, and Newfoundland.

Judging from their implements and the contents of their graves, they were most like the Beothuk who were living in Newfoundland until about a hundred years ago. They also used many of the same implements as the Eskimos, namely, the adze, the knobbed pendant, and the semi-lunar knife.

How long ago they came here or where they came from is a matter of conjecture. No traces of their life here are left except the artifacts and other materials uncovered from their graves or found exposed on the surface of the ground. The bodies have long since become ashes.

There are no caves here, as in France, on whose walls they could leave pictorial records or in whose dry interiors their bones, frag-

ments of clothing and food might be preserved. They were not Lake Dwellers, like the early inhabitants of Switzerland, so that the waters over which they lived would preserve many things distinctive of their lives and customs. They made no massive, fitted stone buildings as did the Incas of Peru, no great stone temples, hieroglyphics and a calendar as did the Mayas and Aztecs, no many-storied and apartmented buildings as did the Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest, no great burial mounds as did the Mound Builders of the central west and south to provide us with clues to their customs, progress and achievements. We cannot tell certainly whether they, like the aborigines of France, during the many ice ages retreated south before the glaciers and again advanced north with their retreat. We only know that no recognized paleolithic implements have been found in New England. As these are found in France, we are led to believe that there were no inhabitants here before the end of the last glacial period perhaps ten thousand years ago, and probably not for several thousand years afterward.

The fact that they buried with the dead, as did most primitive peoples, cherished possessions, makes it possible for us from these to learn something of their lives, customs, and implements.

Because these graves contain fire-making sets of more or less decomposed iron pyrites with which they struck fire in tinder, we know they used fire for such cooking as they did and for warmth in winter. There are plenty of arrow and spearheads of stone so we know that, though the wooden parts have long since rotted away, they hunted and fought with these. Since there are no agricultural tools nor pottery, we assume they knew nothing of the former, and had not learned to make the latter. The presence of knobbed sinkers, still used for the same purpose by the Eskimos, shows us they fished with lines and with nets. The rarity of finished pestles, when we understand there was no corn to grind, is not strange. The only things to pulverize were the meats of nuts, and a finished pestle was not necessary for this. The fact that no pipes are found shows that the cultivation of tobacco was unknown and that smoking therefore was not a custom of theirs.

The typical stone implements of these early people appear to be the gouge or adze, specialized for many uses, the knobbed sinker, the woman's semi-lunar knife, the long, slender whetstone, and bannerstones of many designs. The Maine Indians added to these

long, slender slate knives and spear points sharpened to a fine edge and point. Mostly these were adapted to the use of boreal and woods people in hunting and fishing. Their habits were those of nomads, for they changed their camping sites as the demand for game and fish required. They did not need, like their successors, the Algonquians, to stay in one place long enough for crops to mature, nor did they need to be as particular in selecting camp sites. Indians raising corn must choose spots for camping, with nearby land free from rocks and easy to cultivate.

Thus the Pre-Algonquians probably wandered more widely and often encamped on spots that the Algonquians would not have selected. This may account for the finding of so many of the implements along the rocky shores of our Worcester County ponds, like Manchaug, Stevens, South Charlton, Sacarappa. On many spots around the shores and on the islands of these we find evidences of Pre-Algonquian camping. They must have been here a long time for the implements they left occur in large numbers and are so weathered and patinated often as to indicate an age of even thousands of years.

A time came, however, when there was apparently an abrupt change to another culture with different customs and artifacts and a more progressive type of life. Whether this was brought about by the invasion of another Indian race, with a consequent destruction of the old culture and the introduction of a new, or the Pre-Algonquians themselves learned of the better ways of living of their neighbors to their west and decided to adopt these, we do not know.

It, however, seems reasonable to suppose that just as the Iroquois in New York attacked and destroyed the Algonquians there, so the Algonquians coming in from the west drove eastward and northward the Pre-Algonquians until only a remnant of them survived as the later Beothuk of Newfoundland who in language differed greatly from the Algonquians as well as in other ways we shall later discuss. If this latter theory is true it would account for the immediate use of different artifacts and the discontinuation of those peculiarly Pre-Algonquian. Otherwise the Pre-Algonquian would have continued in use along with the newer types as does not seem to have been the case.

The great shell heaps all along our New England coast furnish evidence of the coming of a new people, for in them all there are



scarcely any Pre-Algonquian implements, and when they are found, it is in the bottom layers. Those found are known Algonquian artifacts such as are dug up from authentic Algonquian graves. We assume, then, that the shell heaps were made after the earlier people had been driven out or destroyed by a different race.

If the Newfoundland Beothuk were the last remnant of these Pre-Algonquians, as is thought, a study of them may throw some light upon their earlier New England relatives. They were also a boreal or woods people, getting their living from hunting and fishing. Their language had no relationship to any of the Algonquian dialects. They made no pottery, had no agriculture. Tobacco and smoking were unknown to them. In place of dishes of clay and soapstone, they used those made of birchbark, not only for storing food but also for cooking it. "Whitbourne saw in a Beothuk camp in Newfoundland three large birch bark kettles supported each by three large stones and in each were boiling twelve fowl, every one as large as a widgeon and some as large as a duck." They made fire, as did the Pre-Algonquians, by striking sparks with two pieces of iron pyrites into tinder. They also, like the Maine Red Paint people, colored their bodies, their canoes, their bows and arrows with red ochre. The name of Red Men was given to them because of this practice.

They used many of the same implements as the Pre-Algonquians, the gouge, the knobbed pendant, the bannerstone, and sharpened slate knives and spearheads. They also interred with the dead his cherished possessions, among these large quantities of red paint powder, as did the Red Paint Pre-Algonquians in Maine. Both peoples apparently believed that these various buried treasures would somehow be a solace and a protection on the spirit's journey to the Happy Hunting Grounds and perhaps even after it reached there. The likeness of these two peoples seems to place them in the same race rather than to connect them with the more warlike and progressive Algonquians.

The connection between the Eskimo and the Pre-Algonquian is less understandable and explainable. Whether in remote ages when the land was colder, the Eskimos lived farther south, or the Pre-Algonquians originally came from farther north, is a matter for conjecture. Anyway they came to make and use the same implements as would neighboring peoples of about the same background.

These implements peculiar to both were rarely used, if at all, by the New England Algonquian.

In the centuries during which the Pre-Algonquians were spreading over New England, they naturally, as the Algonquians later did, would separate into groups or tribes differing in many ways from one another. This can be seen in the variation in types and shapes of artifacts peculiar to the Pre-Algonquians. In the Kennebec and Penobscot valleys in Maine where they apparently reached their highest point, we find the before-mentioned long slate spear-heads and knives, gouges sufficiently different to be called red paint gouges, and several types of finely made bannerstones of shapes found only there. They also appear to have used red ochre much more lavishly. Along the seacoast the gouges were more deeply grooved, and we find more often large knobbed pendants or sinkers, and special bone and shell implements. In other sections there will be found other variations from normal. They all agree in having no pipes, no agricultural tools, no pottery, no axes, and no gorgets in their graves.

I have already mentioned the five distinctive implements of the Pre-Algonquians as the gouge, the knobbed pendant, the semi-lunar knife, the bannerstone, and the slender whetstone. It may be of interest to speak of these in some detail and show how they, except the bannerstone, were fitted for the use of a hunting and fishing people. The gouge and knobbed pendant of these are the most common of all larger New England implements. I have over sixty of the former and thirty of the latter in my own collection. They are much more common than Algonquian grooved and ungrooved axes which may be a reason for thinking that the earlier people lived here longer. The gouge with the deeply or shallowly grooved edge is rare anywhere except in New England and eastern Canada. It is almost unknown on the eastern continent and in most of the western. The Algonquians appear to have used only the straight edged plane-convex gouge.

The Pre-Algonquians without grooved and ungrooved axes and thin chisels, adapted their gouges to the uses of all these. They were made in all shapes and sizes to fit them for their special uses, some were thick and heavy with pointed edge for cutting down and cutting up trees. Two grooves a few inches apart were first made with these, then the chip between them was easily removed; a continuation of these operations soon divided the log.

Many of the gouges were so deeply grooved and the walls left so thin, that they must have been used to remove charred wood after burning in the making of dugouts and wooden utensils. They could not stand hard usage without breaking. Some had narrow and some wide edges, some were long and others short. Around some were circular grooves or ridges for better attaching to handles, others for the same purpose had a series of little knobs instead of these grooves. In some the grooved edge is almost in a semi-circle, while on others there is only a shallow groove or a flat side. The latter type was characteristic also of the Algonquians and continued in use among them. These gouges were pecked into shape and grooved out from such very hard stone as basanite, diabase and hornstone. The edge was ground sharp and the whole surface might be polished smoothly. The finished tool represented most skillful workmanship and a prodigious amount of labor.

The stone of which they were made was so hard and so unaffected by weather, temperature, or soil acids that many of the specimens found today are as fresh looking and have as perfect edges as when they were laid away more than a thousand years ago. Their makers certainly took pride in the perfection of their work.

They probably, with handles and without, served for about every use to which they could be put by a primitive people with no other heavy cutting tool, cutting down and cutting up trees, making dugouts and perhaps wooden utensils, tapping trees, cutting holes in ice, removing birch bark.

Many of these have been picked up along the shores of ponds and on plowed ground where the water has washed them out. Over thirty-five have been picked up from one Wayland site, and at least nine from the shores of Sutton ponds. These and many more have been found during the last ten years on sites that had been previously hunted over for more than one hundred years by collectors.

The knobbed sinker or pendant is found over much of North America, but does not seem to have been used by the New England Algonquians who used in its place sinkers that were grooved, notched, or perforated. None are found in Algonquian graves and, if in the shell heaps, only in the bottom layers.

They vary greatly in weight from a few ounces to several pounds. I have one from Merrimac that weighs two and one-half pounds.

There is usually a carefully worked knob at one end for attachment, though this may be replaced by a perforation. The whole surface is carefully pecked into shape and often polished so that no pecking marks are left. Only rarely do we find one made of a natural pebble with only the knob pecked out. I have only one such out of about thirty specimens. No two are said to be exactly alike, some are in odd shapes as if they might be fish lures. Around the large part of some is a groove and of others a narrow ridge. They are spherical, lemon-shaped, pear-shaped, and triangular, looking more like stone plummets than anything else.

One recent writer has suggested twenty-six possible uses for them and I have heard of two others. Among these are the following: net and line sinkers, fish-lures and gorges, neck and ear pendants, weights for lodge coverings, weights for holding pouches suspended from the belt, plummets, black jacks and bolas, twine and sinew twisters, hand and hanging pestles, hammers, rubbing stones, amulets, charm and lucky stones, spinning, netting, and weaving weights. Many are beautifully and symmetrically made showing much labor and a desire to produce a nice piece of work. They are still frequently to be found on old camp sites. I have one with the grooved ring from North Pond, one with the ridged ring from Lake Winthrop, Holliston, a spherical one from Manchaug Pond, Sutton, a triangular one from the Charles River, South Natick, a pear-shaped, a lemon-shaped, and a pointed one from the Sudbury River, Wayland, and a hexagonal one from Lovell's Pond, Fryeburg, Maine.

Mr. Willoughby places the semi-lunar knife or ulu among the Pre-Algonquian implements. Some recent authorities have questioned his right to do so, saying these have never yet been found in Pre-Algonquian graves. The same argument might be used against their being Algonquian for they are not found in the graves of these. But the fact that they were used by the Eskimos along with other typically Pre-Algonquian implements and but rarely outside New England and the Pre-Algonquian culture regions lends support to Mr. Willoughby's contention. Also other slate implements sharpened by whetstones, such as spearheads and knives, were undoubtedly Pre-Algonquian, for the New England Algonquians rarely if at all, ground such artifacts. Another of the evidences of their being Pre-Algonquian is that where we find most



of the peculiar implements of this culture we find also most squaw knives and fragments of these. On one side where more than forty gouges, twenty knobbed sinkers and many fragments of banner-stones and perforated whetstones were found, at least seventeen whole or part squaw knives were picked up. The same thing occurs on sites in Sutton and Westboro.

These ulus, so named by the Eskimos, are of thin slate, made semi-lunar in shape and carefully pecked, ground and polished so well that the pecking does not show. They look like the chopping knives of our grandmothers and were fitted with handles in much the same way. Some of these are over a foot long and others as short as two and one-half inches. I have one of the latter, the smallest I have ever seen.

These were made of thin tablets of red, brown, black, green, and white slate, and are among the most beautiful in workmanship and appearance of all Indian artifacts. They are found in all stages of manufacture, broken into shape, partly pecked, entirely pecked, partly pecked and polished, all polished and the curving edge sharpened, which shows they were made here and not imported from the Eskimos already finished as some have thought.

As most of them were to be hafted, it was necessary to devise some means to fasten on the handles securely. There were three or more ways of doing this, by grinding slits through near the straight edge or boring holes instead. Through these the lashing cords could be made fast to the handles. By leaving a narrow thickened ridge on each side of the straight edge the same purpose was served. Some had none of these and then the knife was probably simply glued into the hafting of wood or bone.

Many have along the straight edge what appear to be tally marks. These vary in number and some have thought that they represented identification or actual tally marks. These knives are less common than gouges and knobbed pendants; being thin and fragile they are more likely to be found broken, especially by the plow or any hard blow. Two very fine ones have been found in West Millbury, of which I have one and G. Burton Stowe of West Millbury the other. I have found three poorer ones at Manchaug Pond in Sutton.

They are generally regarded as women's knives and were used in many ways. Among the Eskimos they were called fish knives because they were used in splitting salmon and other fish before



drying. They were also employed in skinning and cutting up animals, cutting dressed skins into clothing, belts, bags, moccasins, etc., and for many other domestic purposes.

There is no explanation as yet for not finding them in Pre-Algonquian graves as we would expect. With the uncovering of more such graves, they may be found. The Pre-Algonquians did not always inhumate their dead if they were like their relatives, the Beothuk. Some of the burials were on the surface of the ground and on scaffolds, usually in boxlike structures. As less Pre-Algonquian graves have been found in Massachusetts than in Maine, it may be these other methods of disposing of the dead were more common here. This would account for the surface finds of the squaw knives, among other Pre-Algonquian implements.

Another interesting implement is the whetstone. This is usually over seven inches long and about an inch wide at the broader end and tapering nearly to a point at the other. It may be thin and flat or nearly cylindrical and sometimes slightly curving like a horn. The thin ones generally have a hole in the wider end pecked through from both sides for suspension while carrying. They are made of some gritty stone and were used to grind, smooth, and sharpen such implements as the squaw-knives, the long slate knives and spearheads, and the gouges. They are found in Pre-Algonquian graves.

Because of their length and thinness, they are easily broken and are rarely found whole except in graves. When picked up on the surface, they are on sites generally where other Pre-Algonquian implements are discovered. The Algonquian whetstones seem to have been much less carefully made and not at all noteworthy tools.

The last of the five distinctive Pre-Algonquian implements mentioned previously is the ceremonial bannerstone. These are in many shapes, beautifully finished and polished, and made of the prettiest stone available, jasper, rose quartz, soapstone, serpentine, and banded slate. They were rectangular, spherical, pick shaped, butterfly shaped, heart shaped, and lune shaped. Those thin and lune shaped were usually notched on both thin edges at the center. Those thicker at the center either had a large perforation through this or had grooves on both sides instead for attachment. They are supposed to have been ceremonial stones and to have been placed on long staffs to be carried in processions. The Beothuk

thus carried them. They were found not only among the Pre-Algonquians, the Eskimos and the Beothuk, but also among other American tribes. The New England Algonquians apparently did not use them as they are found neither in their known graves nor in their shell heaps unless in bottom layers.

These beautiful and valuable artifacts are rarely found unbroken. Freezing, thawing, and the cultivation of the soil are responsible for the most of this. In graves they still occur uninjured. Every collection contains one or more whole specimens or fragments. One of the most interesting though not the most beautiful is the whale tail bannerstone, supposed to be made to imitate the whale's tail. The whale was held almost in reverence by the sea coast Pre-Algonquians, Beothuk, and Eskimos because it furnished when killed or stranded such an enormous amount of meat and oil. I have one of these I picked up in the park at Nipmuck Lake, Mendon. Bannerstones also are most common as wholes and fragments where gouges and knobbed sinkers are found.

The method by which the large holes were bored in these is interesting. A hollow stem, like elderberry with the pith removed, was rotated in sand and water at the point of perforation. Sometimes a solid stone drill was used with sand and water. In either case it is said the boring was comparatively rapid, and was beautifully done, straight, smooth, and without false starts. Partly perforated specimens by each method are on exhibition in the Society's museum.

The time of invasion of the Algonquians cannot be placed. It was a very long time ago; for if, as is generally believed, they made the shell heaps, their coming was so far back that the shells first deposited were of a species of shellfish no longer found in the locality when the last were thrown on top. In their graves, the bones, like those of the Pre-Algonquians, have generally become dust.

They had advanced much farther along the road of civilization than their predecessors, for they got a large part of their living from their crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins. They also made pottery of soapstone and clay for their cooking instead of the easily destructible vessels of birch bark.

They were only a semi-nomadic people for the care of the crops necessitated a more permanent stay in one place. Also, on account

of their supply of vegetable food they did not need to wander so widely for fish and game. Land must be cleared for the gardens and this was done by girdling the trees to kill them and by burning over the land every fall and spring.

From their western homes, for they are supposed to have been the eastern outlying relatives of the Mound Builders, though they built no mounds east of Central New York, they brought their corn, bean, pumpkin, and tobacco seed, the first three cultivated by the women, the last by the men of each family. We now find such agricultural tools as stone hoes and picks, also pestles and mortars for grinding the corn. The gouge, except the plano-convex, is replaced by grooved and ungrooved axes and chisels, the knobbed sinker by grooved notches and perforated sinkers. Instead of the ceremonial bannerstone we have gorgets, bird and boatstones. The slate knives with ground edges are replaced by those with chipped edges. The long, slender, well-finished whetstones disappear from use and their places are taken by crude, gritty rocks.

The introduction of tobacco brought several types of pipes, the oldest tubular and platform. Their pottery, both soapstone and clay, was of many sizes and shapes, symmetrical, prettily decorated, well finished, and serviceable. Few whole pots are now found even in graves, so fragile were they. Consequently a good New England pot, particularly of clay, is valuable. Soapstone, which seems to have been used more by the early Algonquians was quite common in this vicinity. There were several outcroppings of it in Millbury and Sutton which were worked by the Indians. On these spots today are seen many discarded fragments and sections of pots as well as the picks which were used to remove the soapstone chunks for bowls.

Arrowheads, spearheads, scrapers, perforators of stone, dugouts, and birch-bark canoes were used alike by both the earlier and the later people. Both had a little copper in the form of beads, knives, and arrowheads, that had probably come in with the first immigrants of each group. They were both without any other metal, and both had no domesticated animal except the dog. They were, therefore, without the ox, the cow, the sheep, the goat, the pig, the horse, the hen, the duck, the goose, or the turkey, except as they secured the last three wild. They had no milk, and but little salt and sugar, the last from the maple tree, and no apples, peaches or

pears. There were no wheeled carts, all work had to be done by hand labor and in moving, everything had to be carried, except on boats, by the people themselves. Probably this lack of knowledge of the metals and absence of domestic animals for food, work and transportation, account for the slower emergence from the stone age of these Indians than of the people of the Eastern Continent who also had long before lived in their own stone age.

In this paper I have attempted to show some of the outstanding characteristics of the earliest immigrants and settlers, and to give a superficial idea of the differences and likenesses in their customs and their artifacts. I have grouped all later New England Indians as Algonquian although these were divided into many tribes who had come to differ widely in language, customs and characteristics.

The coming of both peoples was prehistoric: the first came into a land never before inhabited by man and were its first permanent settlers; the second long afterward, but still long ago, a superior people, more progressive and aggressive, wanting new lands, easily conquered, apparently, and exterminated all but a possible remnant of the scattered earliest people and introduced their own more advanced culture which continued without much change until the coming of the European traders and settlers. Then it changed as abruptly as, and even more completely than, when the Algonquians came into New England.



## THE BATHSHEBA SPOONER MURDER CASE

Paper Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Mr. Chandler Bullock, April 14, 1939

The so-called Bathsheba Spooner case occurred in 1778—a few months after General Burgoyne hoisted the white flag at Saratoga. Most of his English and Hessian soldiers were then constrained in concentration camps in Rutland and some of them along what is now part of High Street in Worcester. Bathsheba Spooner was talked or whispered about around the hearths of Worcester County folk for almost two generations—but now her undoing and her tragedy are almost forgotten.

We call it the Bathsheba Spooner case—but the victim was her husband, Joshua Spooner, a prosperous citizen of Brookfield, a town about as large then as the town of Worcester.

Our Esther Forbes Hoskins has written a most interesting novel called "The General's Lady" based upon this case so historic in this County. In some points Mrs. Hoskins follows the actual facts in her novel. But with a novelist's license she digresses particularly from the facts in having the husband a General in the American Army whose death was not the result of his wife's deliberate plotting.

The historical facts are undisputed; Joshua Spooner was murdered and his wife, Bathsheba Spooner, was the direct instigator of the murder. She was the personality that forced the crime. Spooner's gravestone still stands in that old sequestered cemetery in Brookfield and time has not marred its plain inscription, "He was murdered by three soldiers—at the instigation of his wife, Bathsheba." Those graven letters spell the truth.

It is not because the detection of the guilty required any Sherlock Holmes supersleuthing that the murder is an interesting one. The crime did not need one of your pet detectives to run it down. The case has plenty of dramatic interest because of other angles.

I shall deal only, of course, with facts, actual facts. There are several contemporary records extant. We bless the American Antiquarian Society and the Worcester Historical Society for the source material which they contain. They even have at the Antiquarian Society some of the original court records. Both societies have the confessions printed at the time the case was on by the great Isaiah



Thomas on his printing press; and some contemporary sermons and statements on the event—printed by Thomas. Isaiah Thomas was a canny business man and he took advantage of the excitement of the day to print for good profit pamphlets and broadsides concerning the murder. He printed in pamphlet form and sold on the very date of the execution, July 2, 1778, "The Dying Declaration of (naming the four culprits) who are to be executed this day for murder of Joshua Spooner of Brookfield." The price for the pamphlet is stated as two shillings. Without doubt they were sold in the gathering crowds on that day by the newsboys of the time and they must have gone like wildfire.

And for further contemporary records the Antiquarian Society has complete files of the *Massachusetts Spy* of that very period—Isaiah Thomas's newspaper. It is, of course, largely from the newspapers of any particular period in the last two hundred years under study that historians get most of their real facts—facts dripping fresh and warm, as it were, from the news-taps of the day.

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Now why was this an interesting murder case in spite of the fact that the murder was not a subtle one and did not need any Machiavellian detective to discover the guilty parties?

1. The murder had an interesting legal angle, a criminal jurisprudence angle.

2. It was a crime of passion with the eternal triangle as spicy as any human triangle can be.

3. It touched a political angle, the bitter, violent feeling between the Loyalists and the Revolutionists of that period.

4. The case has a medical angle.

5. It was unusual because of the number of people that swung for it from the scaffold—four. No single murder in the history of Massachusetts as far as we know—certainly not in Worcester County—has ever led to the simultaneous execution of as many as four persons for the same crime.

You may ask—why have not more details of this case appeared oftener in our local histories—and so have become better known? The reason may be that until recently family and local pride have been exercised—the closet door has been kept rather carefully closed on this skeleton. Certain histories of Worcester County have some

accounts—but generally speaking they have but few details. So recourse must be had to the contemporary records.

Today's generation connected by family with Bathsheba Spooner has no objection to the telling of the story—and indeed it is rather exciting to have in the family past (if it is sufficiently remote) such an unusual woman.

It is not merely the pride of local amateur historians that cites this as an unusual murder case. In 1841 a then prominent lawyer of Boston named Peleg W. Chandler wrote a two-volume work on famous American criminal trials. He details fifteen cases that occurred in American history up to that time, from the Salem witchcraft trials, and going down through the Boston Massacre trial, the trial and conviction of Major André—and among the fifteen celebrated cases is this Bathsheba Spooner case.

Now who were the *dramatis personae*? Who were these four here in Worcester County who were slipped off the scaffold in the summer of 1778 with the black hoods over their faces?

One was James Buchanan, a Scotchman, a Sergeant in the British Army which surrendered with General Burgoyne. He had come out of the Prisoners' Concentration Camp at Rutland with another one of that Army, one William Brooks. On the evidence they were "A.W.O.L." (as we said in the World War)—that is, absent without leave from the Camp. Brooks was of a coarser mould and a common soldier, unable to write his own name.

The third was an interesting and attractive ex-soldier in the American Army, a young man named Ezra Ross. He was of some education, he knew his three "R's" (as was said). He had been invalided from the Continental Army but later had recovered his health under Bathsheba Spooner's care.

The Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty (whose statement concerning the prisoners will be referred to later) says of Buchanan and Ross—"They were persons of good natural capacity: Buchanan and Ross in all their conversation discovered a considerable extent of it." Maccarty acting as spiritual adviser often saw them during their prison confinement. Both had served faithfully in trained armies, Buchanan attaining the highest non-commissioned officer rank. It would appear, therefore, that Buchanan and Ross were not mere human driftwood or abandoned characters, and were far removed from the "gangster" type. All of which is further evidence of the

power and personality of Bathsheba Spooner—that she could persuade these men to connive in a murder when they had no real animosity against the intended victim.

The fourth, the dominant figure, was Bathsheba Spooner herself.

And who was she? She was born Bathsheba Ruggles and was one of several children of Colonel Timothy Ruggles. Ruggles was a Harvard graduate, a distinguished lawyer of the pre-Revolutionary era. He fought in the French and Indian Wars under Sir William Johnson and was given the title of General; and he was later Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Court—an office he held until the Revolutionary yeast began to rise. He was firm in his allegiance to Great Britain, a strong, ardent Loyalist. He was banished from this country and his estates were confiscated. He died subsequently in Nova Scotia. (We should not forget our own forebears followed the age-old practice—since pursued by Herr Hitler and others—of banishing from the country, and confiscating the property of, those whose opinions did not accord with the then dominating power.)

General Ruggles had given his daughter and his other children the best possible education in that period—a man of means and position he could do so. So Bathsheba Spooner not only was well educated but came from as refined an environment as existed in Massachusetts one hundred and fifty years ago. She was of the top social strata, what would be termed a “lady”—if I may use that rather out-worn word. May I emphasize that—“a lady.” Some of you may query, “Can a lady instigate a murder?” I say, “Yes, under some certain circumstances.” •

An older sister of Bathsheba Ruggles married the first Dr. John Green, then one of the foremost men of Worcester. So Bathsheba Spooner was the own aunt of the second Dr. Green who founded the Worcester Public Library. (As I pass his statue in our Public Library I often wonder what he thought of his aunt.) Carrying down the line of descent, this murderess, Bathsheba Spooner, was the great, great, great aunt of the charming wife of one of Worcester’s most prominent and able citizens of today. Moreover—another own sister of Bathsheba married Gardner Chandler, Jr., who was a cousin of my own great, great grandfather. Thus this lady who sought to kill was in my own family by marriage connection.

So here we have a lady of Worcester County of the highest social position combining in a common murder with a Sergeant and a

Private of Burgoyne's Army, and an ex-Continental soldier who had served a year in Washington's Army—admittedly a rather rare combination of culprits. In fact in what capital crime can it be equalled?

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Now what brought Bathsheba Ruggles Spooner to the mind and mood of a killer?

Her father, General Ruggles, foreseeing he might have to leave the country for his political views, was crafty enough to try to put his daughters, his heirs, in a comfortable position before his banishment and the seizure of his property—for then he could give them no further protection. We know marriages were arranged by parents more in those days than today. So Bathsheba, before she had reached her majority, was married at her father's insistence to a prosperous citizen of Brookfield, Joshua Spooner. The marriage was hastily put through. The misfortune was that Spooner, while he had comparative wealth and some culture, was a much older man and of a dour disposition and unpleasant character. His young wife doubtless never did love him—never could love him. Before the fatal day of the killing Bathsheba had lived with Spooner nearly fourteen years—many of them years of corroding embitterment.

In spite of her forced marriage in her youth she was a woman of marked energy, with strong feelings and passions. She came finally to have an utter aversion to her husband.

That she was also an attractive woman there is no doubt. We first hear of the impression she made on our less subtle sex in the Letters and Diary of one John Rowe (American Antiquarian Society). Under date of May 22, 1766 (which was a year or so after Bathsheba's marriage to Joshua Spooner) Rowe wrote in his diary, and I quote: "Breakfasted with the Brigadier and went to Hardwick Fair where there were a large company. Dined at Brigadier Ruggles with a very large company among them Mr. Joshua Spooner and Lady which I much admired." (Rowe uses the word "which" but we understand whom he means.)

Bathsheba was thirty-three in the murder year of 1778. During the year previous to the murder she had a lover, one of the four. He was Ezra Ross, the young Continental soldier.

Shortly after Ross' discharge from the Continental Army for illness in 1777 he was going through Brookfield and he happened in



his weakened condition upon the Spooner residence there. He was seen by Bathsheba and was taken into the Spooner home and nursed back to health. The very circumstances were such to create deep sympathy in her. Starved as she was for love and of a passionate nature, she fell in love with Ross, who, as I say, was of respectable parentage and of some education.

There is evidence of resistance to the passion in its early stages—for he left the Spooner home for a while after his recovery. But shortly again he returned under her spell to the Spooner home. And whatever may be said about Bathsheba Spooner she was capable of casting a spell on more than one person. (And Bathsheba somehow still has a glamour for some of us today.)

There is no question of the love between this ardent Tory lady and this Revolutionary soldier who had fought under Washington. The love crossed party lines. Let us examine the evidence on this point.

Elisha Hamilton, Constable, who was assigned to duty at the Spooner house immediately after the Spooner murder, testified at the trial that Mrs. Spooner said to him before she was taken to jail, "This happened by means of Ross' being sick at our house." The inference is plain.

For further evidence of the liaison—the Counsel for the Defense, Levi Lincoln, in his technical defense of insanity spoke of the prisoner in this wise—"Her address and engaging appearance was such she might have had any gallant she pleased, not such as Ross, but one more fitted to her rank and station in life."

There exists in the archives of Massachusetts a touching petition which the parents of Ross presented for the life of their youngest son, Ezra Ross. It was a petition for mercy and pardon and was presented duly "To the Executive Council for the State of Massachusetts Bay in New England." The petition first mentions his service in the Revolutionary Army under Washington and then goes on to speak of Bathsheba Spooner's nursing him back to health; of his stopping at her house again after regaining his health. I will quote a portion of the petition—"Gratitude for past favors led him to call on his old benefactress, who then added to the number of her kindnesses, and engaged a visit on his return. With the mind thus prepared and thus irresistibly prepossessed, by her addresses, and kindnesses, on his tender years, he for the first time heard the horrid proposals; tempted by promises—and seduced both from virtue and prudence—by a



lewd, artful woman, he too readily acceded to her measures black as they were."

This claim of seduction was doubtless a natural one for devoted parents to make under the circumstances. Certainly on all the evidence Bathsheba Spooner had the power and allure to seduce.

Yet we must still remember Ross was an attractive young man of some education and general probity whom she had nursed back to health by her own attentive care, and love on her part was natural under all the attending circumstances.

There is further evidence both of the affair and of the personal appearance of both Ezra Ross and Bathsheba Spooner. And this is the only evidence that is not contemporary of the period. This testimony was picked up by Peleg Chandler and appears in his book before referred to, *Famous Criminal Trials*, printed in 1841. He interviewed an old man, one Major Benjamin Russell, who stated to Chandler that as a young man sixty years before he had often seen Ross and Mrs. Spooner riding on horseback together before the time of the murder. Major Russell further stated to Peleg Chandler, and I now quote—"Ezra Ross was a fine looking youth and the beauty of the latter, Bathsheba, who was a remarkable horsewoman, has not been exaggerated in the least by traditionary accounts."

In fairness to this alleged temptress we should add—there was some suggestion (admittedly not provable) that her husband was unfaithful to her and had an unprincipled woman in the house. The argument of her counsel at the trial not obscurely intimated that this woman was one of the servants.

Now note her position—a hated and possibly unfaithful husband, denied real affection, thirty-three vigorous years of age and an engaging young lover. And we must remember divorces were almost never granted in those days; and further she had no provable grounds against Spooner for a divorce. There was also this in the picture, and here is where some of the bitter political feeling of the day evidences itself:—Bathsheba, the daughter of a determined Tory, was herself extremely Loyalist in her sympathies. The Town of Brookfield was largely Revolutionary in sentiment and she was intensely disliked by her neighbors because she did not hesitate to express her convictions as to her belief in the unfair exile and estate confiscation suffered by her own father. Thus disliked by her townspeople and shrinking from her older and dour husband she was, so-to-speak, driven in on herself and her lover.

In any event the circumstances were such the train was laid for a fearful explosion when accident should apply the spark.

Please understand I am not attempting to extenuate the woman—for she was guilty—a Scarlet Woman. Having broken the sixth of the Ten Commandments she deliberately began to think of breaking the fifth.

The liaison went along for some time until finally in the late winter of 1778 Bathsheba because of her physical condition (which she alone then knew) realized that before long concrete evidence of her conjugal infidelity would be presented to her husband and the whole world. She began to think of ways out. There gradually grew in her mind the idea of disposing of her husband. A willful, headstrong, impulsive woman, she was not to be brooked in her purpose.

The evidence I shall now state briefly—some came out in the trial but more of it appears in the final confessions made after the conviction, and published in the pamphlet by Isaiah Thomas.

She first tried to work upon her lover Ross to do away with her husband. But Ross had a natural disinclination to take a life. She talked of poison and other methods with Ross—but he could not be moved that far. As her pregnancy advanced she grew more and more desperately determined. Realizing that she could never overcome her lover's reluctance to kill, she undertook such a bold and open course that her guilt was placed beyond doubt and she involved herself and her confederates in complete ruin.

The situation then was this—Ross would not kill her husband and she knew that she never could bring herself personally to take his life. The only other way out was to get some coarser-grained individuals who would put the assassination through.

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In those days after the surrender of Burgoyne, British prisoners either paroled or absent without leave were often passing through Brookfield. Bathsheba through one of her servants got hold of James Buchanan and William Brooks who, as I have stated, were respectively a Sergeant and a Private in the British Army. Through her potent personal influence—and I must add through bribery—and with her servants to help, she was able to keep Buchanan and Brooks in and about her barn in Brookfield or the taverns of Brookfield and Worcester for two weeks. During that time she was constantly endeavoring to stimulate them to the point of disposing of her husband.

The first scheme that she proposed was that Buchanan and Brooks should take Spooner out of his room at night after he retired and throw him into the well in the yard. For, as was stated in the confession of Buchanan and Brooks, it would then be thought that he had fallen in while drawing water in the darkness of the night. But Brooks and Buchanan did not feel equal to doing it in this way.

Then her next idea was that one of the servants in the house was to tell her husband that one of the horses was sick and as he came out of the barn then Brooks and Buchanan were to kill him and put him next to the horse's feet in order, as she said, to make people believe when he was found that the horse had with his hoofs accidentally killed him. But here again her scheme did not go into effect because Brooks and Buchanan could not follow through with this idea.

At last she grew more and more set and bold, and the rather crude killing of Joshua Spooner then followed. And we must concede that her emotions, her fears, the increasing stress of her physical condition, overwhelmed for the time Bathsheba Spooner and her judgment.

On the night of March 2, 1778, when Joshua Spooner returned from the tavern to his home at 9:00 P.M. he was knocked down by Brooks, who took him by the throat just as Spooner entered his yard. Ross and Buchanan then came out of the house but Brooks administered the lethal blows, and while Bathsheba remained in the house all three men put his body in the well head first.

Naturally after this a curse rested on the well and it fell into ruins, but its remains are extant today and can be seen at the scene of the tragedy. This was about one-third of a mile from the main road in the Village of Brookfield, on the road to Spencer that was once called "the old great road from Springfield to Boston."

"Murder will out"—and this murder "outed" very soon. It was soon noted that Spooner was missing. There was snow on the ground and the many confused and suspicious tracks about the well led searchers to look in and discover the body. Moreover in a tavern in Worcester the next evening, two of the murderers, Buchanan and Brooks appeared, Brooks wearing some of Spooner's clothes. Brooks got maudlin drunk and called attention to silver buckles he was then wearing. It happened these buckles showed the initials of Joshua Spooner, J. S., upon them. The four involved were apprehended at the end of forty-eight hours.

In a reaction apparently of repentance at the very violence of the deed, Bathsheba admitted her part in the crime. According to the witness Cooley at the trial, she said it was all her doings. She took all the blame. There is a certain magnanimity of mind in her attitude after the murder—say what you will.

Joshua Spooner, the victim, was buried on March 6, 1778, in Brookfield, and on the day of the interment the Rev. Nathan Fiske, A.M., Pastor of the Third Church of Brookfield, preached a sermon. (This sermon you can find in a contemporary print of the period at the Antiquarian Society.) I will merely quote a sentence from it when the parson was touching on Bathsheba Spooner, and I quote it as further evidence of her background:

“This awful catastrophe reads us a solemn lecture upon the insufficiency of wealth, or elegant accommodations, or of gaiety and greatness of dress, to make people secure in their persons, or contented and happy in their minds.”

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The court trial occurred on April 1, 1778 (trials were expedited in those days) at the County Court House in Worcester then as now on the southwest side of the present Lincoln Square. There was a technical plea of not guilty. That calm local historian, Lincoln, in his history of Worcester speaks “of the public mind as then intensely excited.” We can well believe that the excitement was boiling over.

Robert Treat Paine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the Attorney of the State for the prosecution, and the first Levi Lincoln of Worcester (afterwards Attorney General in Jefferson’s Cabinet) was assigned by the State as counsel for the prisoners. He made the quite customary defense argument of insanity (where there is no other defense) and he made a technical argument against the alleged confession. The Judges were William Cushing, Chief Justice of the State of Massachusetts, and four Associate Justices. Judge Cushing afterwards, in 1789, was appointed to the Supreme Bench of the United States. The case involved the very highest legal and judicial talent of the Commonwealth.

The trial was before a jury. It took 16 hours and ran on without adjournment—as was the custom of the time. During the trial Mrs. Spooner manifested complete composure; her demeanor was proud and reserved. The complete sanity and guilt of all the prisoners was not seriously questioned either by judges or jury.



They were found guilty, the four of them, and were sentenced to be hanged on the ensuing June 4. They were recommitted to the County Jail which was then approximately just a few rods north of where the old County Road now called Lincoln Street lets into the present Lincoln Square. The last acts of this drama were all staged in the shire town of the County, Worcester.

At this point there steps into the scene of the drama—another picturesque figure, another personality—the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty. He was the minister of the Old South Church on the Common, the only real church of the town at that time. A fine clergyman, sympathetic, reasonable, intelligent. We know from contemporary evidence what he did and how he felt and thought in regard to the case. He preached a sermon the day of the execution which was published by Isaiah Thomas, and in that contemporary pamphlet (at the Antiquarian Society) is an appendix which is a rather intimate statement by the Rev. Maccarty concerning Bathsheba herself.

Now Thaddeus Maccarty was a very human person (another reason he was a good clergyman) and here seemed to be a chance not only to do his duty but to inquire into and possibly save the soul of an interesting woman involved in a dramatic crime which had excited the whole state of Massachusetts.

Let me now quote from the Reverend gentleman's own statement: "I soon visited her after her commitment. At first she was not very free to converse upon the subject. . . . She could not be brought to acknowledge her guilt or the justice of her sentence until very late in the day . . ."

Note he also says this: "She was a person of uncommon fortitude of mind. She would indeed sometimes say that she felt more than she did or could express."

Now further note this from the clergyman's own statement: "Seldom a day passed but I visited her, for which she expressed great gratitude."

Bathsheba Spooner being an interesting and indeed a fascinating woman, and the clergyman being a sympathetic human being, he visited her perhaps more often than her strictly spiritual needs might necessitate. Indeed I do not blame him, and I am sure he was the envy of many men in that period.

I will quote just a little further from the Reverend's own statement—"Her behavior to all was very polite and pleasant. From the



frequent opportunities I had with her, I was led to conceive of her as a person naturally of a kind, obliging, generous disposition. But she was unhappy—in her first starting out in the world and so left it a fatal capital crime.”

And Thaddeus Maccarty who saw so much of her—like the five judges and the jury—was convinced of her inherent mental soundness.

She then confessed to the clergyman that she was in a state of pregnancy. She asked not for any commutation of the death sentence but only for its suspension till after the birth of her child. Immediately the clergyman took up the question of a respite, a delay of execution. Largely because of his influence a respite was granted and the execution was formally delayed from June 4 to July 2 by action of the Governor’s Council—the then controlling body; and the Council decreed and ordered the Sheriff of the County to have “an examination made by two men midwives (then so-called), and twelve discreet and lawful matrons of the County, all to be first duly sworn.”

The Order in Council was called a “Writ de Ventre Inspiciendo.” According to the writ, and I am quoting, “she was to be searched by the said matrons in the presence of the said men midwives, ——— and certify the truth whether she was quick with child or not.”

This examination was made on the 11th of June and the report of the two men and the twelve matrons was that she was not quick with child. This report did not satisfy her spiritual adviser Thaddeus Maccarty, for he was convinced she was telling him the truth. Again at his very urgent solicitation another examination was made on June 27, just five days before the execution day. This second examination was made by three men midwives, so-called, and three women midwives.

There was a divided report, but a majority—all the three men and one of the women—reported on that day, June 27, and I quote: “Although it was the opinion on the examination of ye 11th instant that she was not quick with child at that time, yet upon this further examination we would inform your Honors, that we must give it as our opinion, that we now have reason to think that she is now quick with child.”

However, two of the three women midwives presented a minority

report sustaining the prior examination and claiming that she was not quick with child. It has been said that women generally are never quite so sympathetic with women offenders as are the so-called sterner sex. Quaere. At any rate here in this midwives' minority report is some evidence to that end.

We must now record that notwithstanding this majority report that she was quick with child, the Governor's Council absolutely refused to grant any further stay of execution. We must further state that Peleg Chandler in his book on the trial emphatically maintains that the bitter political differences of the period had much to do with this callous, almost inhuman, decision. The woman was a pronounced Loyalist, the daughter of a Loyalist so offensive to the majority that he was exiled to Nova Scotia, and the whole breed of Loyalists was obnoxious to the minds of the controlling Revolutionary party. I fear there is truth in this statement of historian Peleg Chandler.

Not only the humanities but all laws, ancient and modern, have ever decreed a woman quick with child shall never be put to death until after the delivery. The execution of a woman in such a condition is a black blot on the escutcheon of any civilized state or community.

So Bathsheba Spooner and the three men awaited in jail the execution date, July 2, 1778—but five days away.

At this point in our tale let us examine the *Massachusetts Spy* of the period to get further light on the times and on the public interest in the case. There appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* of June 25, 1778, eight days before the execution date, the following official advertisement:

“The selectmen of the Town of Worcester, taking into consideration the large concourse of people who will probably attend the execution of the unhappy persons under sentence of death here, and also that there are several hospitals in this county for the reception of persons having the small pox, DO, in behalf of the Public, caution and request all Physicians and Nurses, concerned in such Hospitals, and persons lately having had the small-pox, not to appear in the assembly of spectators unless sufficiently Cleansed. Otherwise their attendance may prove fatal to many, and render the execution, which is intended for a warning and benefit of All, a public detriment.

By order of the Selectmen,  
William Stearns, Town Clerk.”

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Then dawned the fateful July 2, 1778, the day of the execution, the hanging, or, as it was then called, the "turning off." (The phrase referred to the turning off from the scaffold.)

About noon that day the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, in the custom of the period, preached an execution sermon at the Old South Church in the presence of the three male prisoners and an audience doubtless overflowing the church. It was just the occasion for a good preacher, like Maccarty—when evil examples could be shown and good morals could be drawn. No harm could come to anyone from a perusal of that sermon in that pamphlet at the Antiquarian Society.

But Mrs. Spooner remained in jail, she could not go to the church. The Clergyman himself in his appendix attached to that printed sermon states—"Mrs. Spooner having undergone a second examination a few days before her execution, and being thereby greatly disordered, was not able to attend the sermon that day."

After the sermon was over the three male prisoners were escorted back to the jail, and Maccarty went with them for a last visit to the woman. He says of her, "She appeared very calm and humble and penitent—she readily consented to be baptized; she was so immediately—as but a few moments remained before she must go forth. The scene was solemn and affecting." We can well believe it. The good parson did more than baptize her before the execution—he drove her to the place of the execution in his own chaise. The three male prisoners marched on foot.

The place of the execution was not near the jail but approximately where Washington Square is now located. The authorities deemed it advisable to have the "turning off" held somewhat outside the then established streets of the town where there was plenty of space for the milling multitude they knew would attend. All executions were then public and the Town and County came to this one attracted by the spectacular crime and the high position and unusual personality of Bathsheba Spooner.

Half past two in the afternoon of that fateful July 2, 1778, showed on the town clocks. Now let us call on an eye witness, an actual eye witness of that hanging that day. His statement is recorded in the *Massachusetts Spy* of July 6, 1778. This is not hearsay, not something dribbled down through family gossip and tradition—but eye witness stuff recorded at the time. There is drama in it that fiction cannot surpass.

I now quote from the *Massachusetts Spy* of the said date:

"On the 2nd ultimo were executed in this Town, James Buchanan, Ezra Ross, William Brooks, and Bathsheba Spooner, late of Brookfield. At about half past two in the afternoon, the criminals were brought out of prison and conducted to the place of execution, under a guard of about a hundred men. The three male prisoners went on foot, Mrs. Spooner was carried in a chaise, as she had been for a number of days exceedingly unwell. The procession was regular and solemn. Just before they reached the place of execution a black thunder cloud arose and darkened the Heavens; here followed an awful half hour! The loud hallooings of the Officers, amidst a crowd of five thousand, to MAKE WAY! MAKE WAY! The horses pressing upon those on foot; the malefactors slowly advancing to the fatal tree, and preceded by their dismal urns.

"The fierce corufications athwart the darkened horizon, quickly followed by loud peals of thunder, conspired together, and produced a dreadful scene of horror! It seemed as if the author of nature was determined to add such terrors to the punishment of the criminals as must stagger the stoutest heart of the most abandoned. While the sheriff was reading the death warrant, Buchanan, Brooks, and Ross were on the stage; Mrs. Spooner being excessively feeble, was permitted to lie in the chaise; she heard the warrant read with as much calmness as she would the most indifferent matter; she was frequently seen to bow to many of the spectators with whom she had been acquainted.

"When called on to ascend the stage, with a gentle smile she stepped out of the chaise and crept up the ladder. The halters were fastened, the malefactors pinioned, and their faces covered, the sheriff informed them that he should drop the stage immediately; upon which Mrs. Spooner took him by the hand and said, "My dear sir! I am ready! In a little time I expect to be in bliss; and a few years must elapse when I hope I shall see you and my other friends again." They all were calm and almost smiled at the approach of death, considering the king of terrors but as a kind messenger to introduce them to the regions of eternal joys."

Thus wrote an eye witness in the *Massachusetts Spy* of the day. It surely was the Editor Isaiah Thomas himself who wrote that description for his own newspaper. Without the slightest doubt he was there with everybody else in that crowd of five thousand. That number is more than twice the population of Worcester of that period. No such crowd had ever assembled before in Worcester—they came from all over the State. It is not perhaps inaccurate to say that it was not until several decades afterward that such a number of people ever again assembled in this town.



We can picture the scene as Isaiah Thomas or his reporter saw it and recorded it at the time. Was there ever in Worcester before or since such a dramatic, emotional, harrowing, public spectacle? For it was a carefully planned public event. The pomp and circumstance of the procession from the jail through the streets to the execution point; the three condemned men marching on foot preceded by a cart carrying their coffins; followed by the good clergyman conveying in his chaise Bathsheba Spooner at his side—watching over her; the hundred militiamen struggling to open a way through the crowds; Bathsheba so worn by all the circumstances she could only creep upon the stage or scaffold; but when she got there standing with verve and dignity giving a farewell nod to her acquaintances pressing closer to watch her die at the rope's end, and finally the startling thunder storm intensifying the awful drama of the occasion.

There was indeed drama for you—drama enacted in real life right down there by Washington Square in this City—drama that pales any movie scene this narrator has ever seen. A mob scene it was—with our own forebears and predecessors in it—gathered to see the kill. Let us not throw figurative stones at the men and women who so eagerly flocked around that historic guillotine in Paris in the French Revolution. O Tempora, O Mores!

But this chapter of local history is not yet quite closed. Almost immediately after the execution and pursuant to her final request, the body of Bathsheba Spooner was opened and they found a perfectly formed male foetus in the quick in the body. The evidence on that is absolutely indisputable. The feeble little life must have been snuffed out almost at once.

So we come to the *finis* of this early Worcester drama. The case had, as stated in the beginning, its several angles, a political angle, a medical angle, a criminal jurisprudence angle, and it certainly had its human interest side.

And so there was hanged by the neck until she was dead Bathsheba Spooner of gentle birth and breeding, a relation by marriage of my family, a relation by blood to some of the outstanding people in this town and state: the only woman ever executed in the history of Worcester County.

“The wages of sin are death”—yes, true, but today in all probability Bathsheba Spooner would have been spared the gallows or the chair. There would have been a prison term. We may surmise no jury of males today would have sent her to her death.



Bathsheba's body was turned over to her sister, Mrs. John Green. The John Greens then lived on, and owned, the great estate which is now Green Hill Park (afterwards given by the Green family to the City for a Public Park). The family naturally was grief-stricken and thoroughly ashamed of the whole episode and sought to forget it as soon as possible. So her body was buried quickly and quietly by them in a grave somewhere in that Green Hill estate. The grave was never marked and every effort was made to blot from mind and sight the whole tragedy. But Bathsheba Spooner's body still lies there up in Green Hill Park in a location unknown to anyone now alive.

---

Doubtless many happy lovers strolling about that Park in these days pass unwittingly over her poor bones. And perhaps on the night of every July 2, the anniversary of her execution, her ghost still flits about the Park still looking for some of that happiness that was denied her in her life.

## WALTER DAVIDSON

### A MEMORIAL

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by Professor  
Zelotes W. Coombs, at the Annual Meeting, June 9, 1939

Walter Davidson, a member of this Society since July, 1888, its efficient Secretary since December, 1891, died in Worcester, March 13, 1939.

Born in West Auburn, Massachusetts, in 1852, son of William and Judith (Holman) Davidson, he had made Worcester his home for more than seventy years. He entered the employ of the Barnard, Sumner & Putnam Company of this city, in 1870, and served continuously with this company, until his retirement in March, 1937. He was for many years manager of the department of flannels, linings, and similar piece goods in that firm.

Mr. Davidson retired from his position as Secretary of the Society, June 12, 1931. In the meantime, the old Worcester Society of Antiquity had become the Worcester Historical Society. At the time of his retirement as Secretary, the following resolution was unanimously adopted at the Annual Meeting, June 12, 1931:

### RESOLUTION

"At the Annual Meeting of the Worcester Historical Society, held Friday, June 12, 1931, Secretary Walter Davidson made known his desire to be relieved of further service in that office, which he had filled so acceptably for nearly forty years. This decision on his part was received by the members present with profound regret, and several spoke feelingly of Mr. Davidson's long and faithful service. It was then moved, and numerous seconded, that the Worcester Historical Society accepts with deep regret Secretary Davidson's decision to serve no longer as Secretary, that it extends to him its sincere thanks and deep appreciation of his long and faithful service, and that it wishes him in the future all success and happiness."

This motion was adopted by a rising vote.

Walter Davidson served this Society long and faithfully. A quiet man, he had a wide circle of friends who appreciated his fine

qualities and who were devoted to him. He was deeply interested in historical and genealogical matters, and was an authority on Old Worcester, and on many phases of the development of the city. As Secretary of this Society he was most efficient, rarely, if ever, missing a meeting. The Society owes him a debt for what he did, and this Memorial is a brief but fitting tribute to the man, for what he was, for the services that he rendered.

## WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### Report of the Executive Director of the Worcester Historical Society at the Annual Meeting of June 9, 1939

As I start to write this report the sentence from Gray's "Elegy" comes to my mind, "The short but simple annals of the poor." Poor we may be, yet as we look back on the year just past we can see that much has been accomplished and plans laid for work ahead of us. Our annals are not so short.

One of our functions is to receive, care for, and display objects of local historic interest which may be donated or loaned to this Society. During the past year we have received one hundred and fifty donations of this kind and they have varied in size, interest, and value. Among larger things are the old Chickering piano now in the hall, the lovely hall clock, nine and one-half feet high, now in the Worcester Room and the winnowing machine in the basement. Our most interesting curio was a fine large kaleidoscope which has attracted much attention. The varied designs it displays are a source of constant wonder. A framed tintype measuring eleven by thirteen inches is considered rare and valuable, dating as it does from 1871. Rare and curious, too, are the wooden box and the jadeite beads from the Mayan City of Chichen-Itzá, brought back to this city years ago by a native son and given to us by his surviving sisters. Other things, from bleeding knives to bullets, from sugar tongs to samplers, too numerous to mention, find their way into our well-filled show cases, to make them richer fields of exploration for our visitors. Our old records, too, frequently mention items which have been long misplaced. Search brings them to light at times, so that now we have prominently displayed an antique toy railroad train nearly a century old and the wooden mortar and pestle of Elder Brewster brought over by him on the *Mayflower*.

In the museum we have made space by taking horizontal case displays and rearranging them in wall cases. Window space has been utilized for two added displays, one of old wall paper, the other of Indian oddities. The objects are thus better displayed, but in addition they lend warmth and color as well as decoration to the museum as a whole. By the addition of another case, our inter-

esting collection of dolls has been adequately displayed. Rearrangement of pictures is gradually bringing together into groups those which are related in subject or period. We aim to make the museum more attractive to visitors and members, and to display our many treasures as well as possible in our limited space.

Our library, as you know, is limited to local publications, local subjects, and the output of our local authors. Thus we receive regularly a local newspaper in the Sunday edition, the annual publications of the local schools and colleges as well as their monthly editions of their several papers. Some of the churches and societies send us regularly their booklets for file. Then, too, we are in receipt of the publications of the National and several State Historical Societies as they are issued either monthly or quarterly. Governmental books through the Smithsonian Institution are furnished as well. The Downes Fund enables us to pick up, as available, out-of-print or little-known books of local authors. These trickle in at the rate of about a dozen a year. This fund also allows the acquisition of books on collectors' subjects, by the Director, for office use.

We have also a historical file in which I wish to interest all of you because of its eventual historical value to the whole community. In it we place any article, paper, thesis, or photograph of local historical events, ancient or modern, such as, for example, The Bathsheba Spooner Case or the visit here in 1848 of the Congressman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. In addition are filed articles related to any of the things found in our collection, such as the Nipmuck Indians, Sandwich Glass, or Old Cooper Shops. Thus eventually we hope to have a collection of historical information which will be of great value.

The Society continues to serve the public. Our visitors this year have numbered about 3000. In the month of March we had our greatest number, 386, and the month of examinations, May, gave us only 136 visitors. They have come from Europe, Asia, and far away New Zealand. Indeed the Chinaman and New Zealander were nice enough to write to us expressing their happy recollections of the afternoon spent in the Worcester Historical Society. We are constantly surprised at the many adult visitors, natives of the city, who come in for the first time and then express surprise at what they see on exhibition. Our relations with the public schools re-



main most cordial. Each year the history clubs of the different high schools plan an afternoon with us, for which we usually provide a historical hunt of one type or another. The preparatory and grade schools are using the museum more and more. Several social and lodge groups have come to rely on a pleasant evening during the winter in the Society's rooms.

The Director wishes to testify to the cordial relationship existing between this Society and other institutions of culture in the city. He feels that the past year has been a most pleasant one and that the Historical Society has continued to serve the community in its own special field.

## MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE SEASON 1938-1939

In accordance with the usual custom, the first meeting of the Society for the season of 1938-1939, was held in connection with the fall meeting of the Worcester County Historical Society, the date being Saturday, October eighth. The meeting took place at the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, followed by an inspection of the John Woodman Higgins Museum, at Greendale. Here Mr. Higgins served the visitors with lunch, a courtesy greatly appreciated.

During the afternoon the rooms of the Worcester Historical Society were opened, and many of the visitors availed themselves of the opportunity to inspect the Museum. Officers of the Society were present to welcome the visitors, and to act as guides.

This joint meeting took the place of the regular October meeting of the Worcester Historical Society.

At the regular November meeting, Friday evening, the eighteenth, Dr. Albert Farnsworth presented a paper on "New England Stone Walls and Cellar Holes."

The January meeting took place Friday evening, the thirteenth, and Executive Director Captain Cross, spoke on "Daguerreotypes and Ambrotypes," illustrating the address with examples from the extensive collection of the Society. Many members had brought in specimens, and these added much to the interest of the evening.

The speaker at the February meeting, Friday evening, the tenth, was Mr. Nathan Rice, whose paper treated of "Dr. Paine's and Other Grist Mills." At this meeting a collection of Currier and Ives prints was shown, and the clock formerly in Brinley Hall was on exhibition.

At the March meeting, Friday evening, the tenth, the speaker was Mr. C. C. Ferguson, his subject being "Early New England Indians, as Revealed by their Lithic Artifacts." This address was illustrated by an exceptionally fine exhibit of specimens from the collection of Mr. Ferguson and from that of the Society.

The April meeting was held on the evening of Friday, the fourteenth, the speaker Mr. Chandler Bullock, discussing "Bathsheba Spooner, the First and Only Woman Hanged for Murder in

Worcester County." This subject was of especial interest at this time in view of the recent publication of "The General's Lady," by Mrs. Esther Forbes Hoskins of Worcester, this novel dealing with certain phases of the famous Bathsheba Spooner case.

The May meeting, Friday evening, the twelfth, was addressed by Mr. Edward F. Coffin, his subject being "Some Historical Facts about 'Tory' John Murray and His Family." This paper supplemented a paper read before the Society of Antiquity some years ago by Mr. Burton W. Potter, giving much additional material.

The Annual Meeting was held Friday evening, June ninth. At this meeting President Cunningham delivered his annual address, the report of the Executive Director, Captain Cross, was read by Mrs. Cross, in the absence of Captain Cross, detained by illness.

The Nominating Committee, Messrs. C. T. Tatman, R. K. Shaw, and Mrs. Edith Nye, presented its report, nominating for President, Mr. Zelotes W. Coombs; for Vice-Presidents, Mr. John W. Higgins, Mrs. Arthur W. Marsh, Mr. Edward F. Coffin; for Secretary, Mr. Ripley P. Bullen; for Treasurer, Mr. Dwight S. Pierce; for Executive Committee, in addition to the officers named above, Mrs. William T. Forbes, Dr. Albert Farnsworth; for Finance Committee, Mr. Chandler Bullock, the other members, Messrs. Ramsdell and Mackintire, holding over. These nominees were elected by ballot.

It may be noted that the Worcester Historical Society joined with the Worcester County Historical Society in its annual spring outing, held at Lancaster, Saturday, June tenth. Some eighty were present, the gathering taking place in the Unitarian Church, where an address was given by Rev. Frederick Weis. Visits were then made to several cemeteries, to the famous bird museum, and to various historical spots. Luncheon was at the Wilder Community House. Numerous guides were at hand, and they explained the historical spots and gave historical details. After the visit at Lancaster many went to Harvard to inspect the Sears Museums, Fruitlands, etc.

The regular meetings of the Worcester Historical Society were all held at the rooms of the Society, 39 Salisbury Street. The average attendance at the meetings was thirty-eight.







The  
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September, 1940

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The Worcester Historical Society  
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## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1940-1941

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*Vice-Presidents* . . . . . { EDWARD F. COFFIN  
JOHN W. HIGGINS  
MRS. ARTHUR W. MARSH

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ALBERT FARNSWORTH  
The above-named officers and Chair- { MRS. HARRIET M. FORBES  
man of Finance Committee . . . { MISS ANNA T. MARBLE

*Finance Committee* . . . . . { CHANDLER BULLOCK  
GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE  
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GEORGE I. CROSS, *Executive Director and Librarian*

KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant*

*in Museum and Library*

WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to the Executive Director*

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## FOREWORD

### THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1875

The purpose of this Society is to gather, preserve, and display for public benefit, historical material of all kinds, especially that relating to Worcester City and County.

The library contains all the local histories available, and seeks all local articles dealing with Worcester historical research. It contains works by local authors and has a well organized collection of over twenty thousand manuscripts, maps, broadsides and newspapers. Much of this material is unique and of great importance.

The museum displays many thousands of objects and pictures of historical significance. Many of these objects are of general interest while others, like local inventions, are a source of Worcester pride. Our aim is to illustrate from the actual tools, toys, clothing, ornaments, home utensils, heirlooms, works of domestic utility and art, the way Worcester County has worked, played, loved and grown in population, influence and aspiration.

The resources of the Museum and Library are increasingly used by students of all grades in the city and county schools in connection with their study of history, local and national. We aim to stimulate local pride and to inculcate those lessons of fair play, forbearance and love of our fellows which have made our country great.

The Society is supported by membership dues and income from small invested funds. These receipts are never adequate for our increasing needs. We appeal to all who are interested in this valuable American work to aid by entering into membership in the Society or by gifts of a historical or monetary nature.

Gifts by will may be made in the following form :

I give the sum of ..... Dollars to the Worcester  
Historical Society of Worcester, Massachusetts.

## SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ABOUT "TORY" JOHN MURRAY AND HIS FAMILY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Mr. Edward F. Coffin, May 12, 1939

Commencing with the first settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, for more than a century and a half, the English colonists in America were characterized by their unswerving loyalty to their mother country. They were proud to share a heritage so rich in the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. As long as hostile Frenchmen remained their close neighbors on the western and northern frontiers, they realized the deep obligation which they owed to the strength of British arms for their security.

Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, an event occurred which exerted a direct influence upon the intimate relationship which had existed previously between England and the colonies. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763 at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War (the French and Indian War, as our histories have termed it), ended forever the rule of France in America. The dangers which up to that time had menaced the colonists from that quarter were now permanently removed. The significance of this alteration of affairs does not seem to have been comprehended fully at the time by either Great Britain or her colonies. Yet this relief from French aggression unquestionably constituted the very foundation stones upon which the independence of the colonies eventually was to be built.

The heavy cost of the War to England had aroused a natural feeling in Parliamentary circles that the American colonies, who had been the chief gainers by its successful termination, should assume some share in the payment of the large debt which had been incurred. This view was soon given concrete expression by the enactment in Parliament of the so-called "Revenue Acts."

Among these measures was included the "Stamp Act," which at once met with a hostile reception from the colonists. The first serious breach had opened between England and her hitherto loyal subjects.

Although the tenseness of the situation was temporarily relieved by the speedy repeal of the obnoxious act, a new era of ministerial blundering soon followed. The Boston Port Bill was passed and a

policy of coercing the colonies into obedience was undertaken. Several regiments of troops were sent to Boston to support the government officials in this attempt.

A political crisis now arose which was soon to rend even family ties asunder. The citizens of Massachusetts Bay and other colonies were forced into the alternative choice of remaining loyal to their King or engaging in open revolt against his constitutional authority.

Although a kind Providence, for a few years longer, would hide from the future victims the outcome of events then shaping, already the hand of Destiny was entering in its inscrutable Book of Fate, the word "disaster," against the names of several thousands of the leading citizens of the American colonies. It is my privilege in this paper to review briefly and with admitted incompleteness the career of one of those unfortunates included in that ill-starred group, styled "Tories," a term of hatred bestowed upon them by their enemies. The venom of this epithet, I fear, has not entirely dissipated itself from their memories, even to the present day.

It is certainly a bit anomalous that the only fact we are sure of in the first twenty years of the life of Colonel John Murray, Loyalist, is copied from his tombstone. From this presumably trustworthy source, at St. John, New Brunswick, we learn that he was born in Ireland on the 22nd day of November in the year 1720. We do not know his parentage or the place of his birth. We do not know when he came to America or at what place he arrived. This is the more difficult to understand in view of his later prominence, and because we have direct evidence which points to him as a most methodical individual. An extensive collection of his papers and correspondence is still preserved in the possession of descendants in New Brunswick; but although these relate in the main to his varied interests in Massachusetts Bay, they remain wholly silent upon the early chapters of his life. I venture the opinion that this circumstance is not the mere result of fortuitous chance, but that this gap is due to a deliberate purpose on the part of Colonel Murray, the motive for which I will suggest a little later.

This complete absence of information has resulted in surrounding Colonel Murray's early life with an aura of mystery, and his biographers have substituted in lieu of facts a mass of traditions from which it is now impossible to sift the chaff from the wheat.

The earliest writer to tell us of Colonel Murray was Jonas Reed.

In 1836 he published a ‘‘History of Rutland’’ (Mass.). Its appearance, sixty years after Colonel Murray had left Rutland, invites suspicion that very little of Reed’s knowledge could have been at first hand, and that, unsupported, his statements are entitled to receive a limited amount of credence.

Reed informs us that John Murray, when he first came to Rutland, was known as ‘‘John McMorrah,’’ and that with him came Edward Savage and several others. ‘‘John,’’ he tells us, ‘‘when he set foot on the American shore, was not only moneyless, but in debt for his passage; for a while he tried manual labor, but he was too lazy to work and ashamed to beg,—he commenced peddling, kept a store, etc.,—and eventually became the most wealthy man that ever lived in Rutland.’’

This circumstantial narrative bears strong points of resemblance to a Horatio Alger hero in the making. Unfortunately, a check-up of the known facts at this stage rather disrupts this romantic sounding story. We have positive proof that Edward Savage and his wife Mary became members of the Church at Rutland in 1728, when our John could have scarcely passed his eighth birthday. Reed tells us further that in the same boat with Murray and Edward Savage came the McClanathan family, including John and Elizabeth, a young girl of his own age, ‘‘whom after his arrival, he did not forget, but made her his wife.’’ As it has already been shown, Murray, on this voyage, could not have been more than eight years of age, this supplementary statement necessarily implies the development on shipboard of a rather precocious romance between these juvenile lovers.

We find another biographer, writing at a considerably later period, whom we shall assign to the imaginative school of historians. Mr. Lilly B. Caswell in 1899 published a book entitled ‘‘Athol—Past and Present.’’ Therein he informs us ‘‘John Murray was the youngest son of the Duke of Athol, in Scotland. Becoming displeased with his family, he left his country and came to America.’’ There is in the author’s mind, apparently, some vagueness just when this migration from the ancestral halls occurred; but in any event, upon the reorganization of the plantation of Pequig into an incorporated town in 1762, John Murray appears upon the scene in ample time to assign its new name of Athol in compliment to his distinguished forbears.

Of course this tale may be regarded as 99.44 per cent pure fiction, the residue being based upon two historically supported facts: first,



Colonel Murray did own some speculative acres of land in Pequig; second, although a resident for many years of Rutland, in his capacity of a Justice of the Peace, he issued the warrant calling the first town meeting at Athol and also presided as its Moderator. Historical writing of this character should be made an indictable offense, but I am not prepared to say just what action ought to be followed "to make the penalty fit the crime."

We propose now to leave this nebulous atmosphere in which guesswork becomes only more and more uncertain in results. Hereafter we shall deal with Colonel Murray, not in the role of a somewhat mythical personality, but strictly as a flesh and blood individual. This characterization has definitely literal significance when we call attention to his physical proportions, exhibiting a height of six feet and three inches and avoirdupois in excess of three hundred pounds. A reference to this fact is found in John Trumbull's immortal epic poem, "M'Fingal." The Tory Squire, alluding to the futility of persecutions, asks,

"Have you made Murray look less big,  
Or smoked old Williams to a Whig?"

Israel Williams was one of the King's councillors, and the reference is to a pleasant pastime of the patriots called "smoking a Tory." The victim was confined in a close room before a fire of green wood and a cover applied to the top of the chimney.

The first definite trace of John Murray's whereabouts is found at the young plantation in western Massachusetts, then known as Elbow Tract or Kingstown, and in 1752 incorporated as a town by the name of Palmer.

In the Hampshire County courthouse at Springfield will be found recorded the sale of a 100-acre lot at Elbow Tract by Isaac Magoon to John Murray, trader, for £430. Both parties are described as residents of Elbow Tract. This deed was dated August 11, 1741, and it may be noted that Murray then lacked slightly more than three months of being 21 years of age. Another deed, dated August 17, 1742, still describing Murray as a trader, at Elbow Tract, conveys the same 100-acre lot to William McClanathan for £449. This is an advance of £19 above the purchase price and it does not seem like a large profit for carrying the land for more than a year. Perhaps Murray was a believer in the maxim "Nimble profits, quickly told."



This deed contained a dower release as follows: “Furthermore, I, Elizabeth Murray, ye wife of said John Murray, etc.” Both John and Elizabeth in affixing their signatures spelled the surname “Murray,” and for the next fifteen years this remained its customary form.

From the facts which we have cited, I think a few warrantable deductions may be drawn concerning Colonel Murray’s origin. We have found him, before reaching his majority, a resident in a community made up almost wholly of Scotch-Irish immigrants, and actively engaged in carrying on various business transactions with them. We discover that he is already married to a Scotch-Irish sweetheart before he has reached his twenty-second year. From these well-authenticated facts, I think we are entitled to conclude that John Morray, or Murray, as he chose to be known at a later day, was the son of Scotch-Irish parents. It is quite possible that a carefully conducted search among the parish registers of the Ulster towns in the north of Ireland would discover a record of his parentage.

Having arrived at one conclusion, we are disposed to go a bit further and indulge in speculation concerning the approximate time of John Murray’s arrival in America.

The largest immigration of Scotch-Irish to New England occurred in 1718 when five shiploads arrived in Boston. This company was too early to have included Murray, who, as we know, was not born until two years later. We learn, however, of the arrival of a number of smaller groups of Scotch-Irish extending over the period of the next twenty years. Concerning one of these groups in particular which arrived in 1737, we are told that the major part went to the western towns of Pelham, Coleraine, Brimfield, and Kingstown. At this latter place, which we know also as Elbow Tract, a considerable number of Scotch-Irish had settled before 1733. My opinion is that John Murray came to America in one of these later groups, and perhaps between 1733 and 1737. We know he was living at Kingstown as early as 1741, and probably in 1739, as there is existing evidence which points to this earlier date.

From the fact that we find Murray at the age of twenty apparently well educated and already in possession of a considerable amount of capital, it seems unlikely that all this could have been accumulated after his arrival, or that he was ever in the state of destitution ascribed by Reed.

John Murray continued to live in Kingstown until 1744; and his oldest two children, Alexander and first John, were probably born there, although there is no record of their births preserved.

The Worcester Registry of Deeds has a record of the earliest purchase of land which Colonel Murray made in Rutland. February 18, 1744, he bought of Aaron Rice, innholder, 23 acres for £130, and it was upon this tract that he built his mansion house. The final payment of this purchase was not made until October 21, 1746, and the deed was recorded November 21, 1747. Due to the period of three years which elapsed before the completion of the transaction, it is uncertain just when Murray made the final change of his residence to Rutland. The birth of his first daughter, Elizabeth, is, however, recorded in Rutland, September 10, 1745, and it would appear likely that from this circumstance he had at that time become a permanent resident.

John Murray's name appears for the first time in the Rutland town records in 1747. From that date, his importance in the affairs of the town continues to grow, increasingly. That same year he is chosen a Selectman and also a member of the Board of Assessors. In 1748, he was Moderator at a town meeting to lay out a new highway. The year following, he was Chairman of a Committee of seven to build a meetinghouse, and also, one of a Committee of three to select a schoolmaster. He was the Representative of the town at the General Court continuously for some twenty years. He held a commission as Justice of the Peace, and sitting as a Trial Justice in minor cases meted out rewards and penalties at his residence in the squabbles among his neighbors. His role in the community seems to have been not unlike that of Pooh Bah in the "Mikado."

During this active period, when he was rendering such unremitting service in public affairs, he appears to have been able, with equal success, to have carried on his multifarious private enterprises. He was a heavy speculator in the "wild lands" of the Province, sometimes acting independently and at other times in company with others. In 1762, with Colonel John Chandler, Timothy Paine, and Abijah Willard, he bought at public auction from the Treasurer of the Province 4800 acres of undeveloped land in the extreme western part of the colony. This purchase was organized as the town of Murrayfield, and during the next ten years many lots were laid out and sold to settlers.

After the Revolution, the name of the town was changed to Chester. Because of its Tory origin, obviously it might be readily assumed that the name Murrayfield had become odious to the patriotic inhabitants. The real cause of the change, however, is found to have been due to constant trouble which arose from the confusion of the town's name with that of another Massachusetts locality bearing the very similar name of Merryfield.

In addition to his extensive real estate transactions, Colonel Murray seems to have been a money lender on the security of personal notes and mortgages.

He was active in military affairs, and during the French and Indian War was Lieutenant Colonel of the Massachusetts regiment of which Timothy Ruggles, the father of the unfortunate Bathsheba, was Colonel.

From the standpoint of his numerous accomplishments, it is apparent that Colonel Murray was an individual, not only endowed with a boundless supply of energy, but also of exceptionally keen business sagacity. During the thirty years which followed his arrival in Rutland, although he enjoyed a reputation for generosity, entertained lavishly, and maintained a style of living, which was regarded as magnificent for the period, yet he was able to accumulate wealth to an extent which at the breaking out of the Revolution marked him as one of the richest men in the Province. The appraisal of his confiscated estate made by his enemies, and for that reason not likely to have been overvalued, amounted to £26,000, a large fortune in those days.

John Murray's first wife, Elizabeth McClanathan, after having been the mother of ten children, died in 1760. It would appear that following upon her death the relationships between Colonel Murray and his Scotch-Irish connections were never again intimate. At about this time, he made the permanent change in the spelling of his name from Morray to Murray.

I am inclined to believe that gradually mounting financial and social success had somewhat turned the Colonel's head, and that he had become what today would be termed a "social climber." His close degree of intimacy with Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Sir William Pepperell, and others to the manor born, must have occasioned, in his own mind, a strong contrast with his humble origin. We can infer that he was not anxious to broadcast this, but rather

aimed to conceal it. This circumstance, more than any other, suggests the possible explanation of the complete disappearance of all evidence of his early life. The preservation of such material threatened possible disclosures at a later time which might prove embarrassing to his social pretensions.

On September 1, 1761, Colonel Murray married, for his second wife, Lucretia Chandler, a sister of his business associate, Colonel John Chandler of Worcester. She was one of seven daughters of Hon. John Chandler, the third in succession to bear the name. In their day, from their distinguished attributes, they were known as "The Seven Stars."

Lucretia, at the time of her marriage, was living in Boston and keeping house for her brother-in-law, Benjamin Greene, following the death of his wife, who had been her oldest sister, Mary. A daughter, Lucretia Murray, born June 22, 1762, was the only child of the second marriage. Lucretia's mother died when she was six years old.

Among the wedding gifts received by Lucretia Chandler was a silver tea set of three pieces made by Paul Revere. They had the Chandler coat-of-arms engraved upon each one, and an inscription "B. Greene to Lucretia Chandler." This handsome gift from her brother-in-law later was to form the basis from which arose extravagant rumors concerning Colonel Murray's ducal descent. Through a false report, these pieces were credited with having the arms of the Duke of Atholl. It was rumored that by their sale funds had been obtained whereby Lucretia Murray had supported herself after her father's death and when she had taken up her residence with her Chandler relatives at Lancaster, Massachusetts.

A simple disclosure of the facts, however, dispels all the romantic elements in the story. Since these pieces originally had been the gift to his daughter Lucretia's mother, Colonel Murray, appropriately, willed them to Lucretia. When she died in 1836, they still remained among her choicest possessions, and were by her will, in turn, disposed of to her friends, among whose descendants they are still preserved. In justice to Colonel Murray, it is due to state that from his former property in Massachusetts Bay, he was able to set aside notes and mortgages, in favor of Lucretia, which yielded an income of ample amount to prevent her becoming a charge upon her relatives. In 1789, before the Massachusetts Supreme Court at Worcester, in an action at law, Lucretia obtained a judgment in her



favor for £376, from John McClanathan of Rutland, for a loan made to him by her father, and which had remained unsatisfied for more than fifteen years. It is of local interest to note that one of her maternal relatives, Hon. Nathaniel Paine, acted as Lucretia's attorney.

Colonel Murray, on January 24, 1770, married, as his third wife, Deborah Brinley of Boston, daughter of Francis Brinley, and descended from a distinguished line of Rhode Island ancestry. Although, at the Colonel's previous marriage, Col. John Chandler, his prospective brother-in-law, had officiated in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace, we find that this last marriage was performed at King's Chapel by the rector, Rev. Mather Byles, D.D., and we may assume that it was a brilliant society event of its day.

In order to complete the data concerning Colonel Murray's thirteen children, we note here that by his third wife, Deborah, he was the father of two children. Deborah, born at Rutland, September 29, 1771, married, in 1796, William Hazen of Fredericton, New Brunswick. She was the mother of nine children—six sons and three daughters. She died in 1816 at the age of 48 years.

Thomas Murray was the Colonel's youngest son, and was born October 12, 1775, probably in Boston. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in New Brunswick in 1796. On New Year's Day, 1797, he was married to Sarah Lowell Hazen by the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., son of the clergyman who, twenty-seven years earlier, had married his parents. Their wedded life was short as Thomas died May 3, 1797, in his twenty-second year. In 1802, his widow married William Botsford, a Yale graduate of the Class of 1792. She was the mother of ten children and died in 1850 at the age of 75 years.

Martha Murray was the youngest daughter of Colonel Murray, by his first wife, and in 1785 was married to William Wanton. He was the son of a former Governor of Rhode Island, and the first Collector of Customs for the Port of St. John. He held this office, continuously, for thirty years. Martha, or Patty as she was familiarly called, seems to have been a very general favorite. A letter of this period, exchanged between a couple of bachelors at the time of her marriage, carried this injunction: "Say a thousand clever things for me to Mrs. Collector."

As befitted Colonel Murray's rise in society, we soon find two of his sons enrolled at Harvard College. We have interesting glimpses



of their respective graduations from the diary of John Rowe, a prominent Boston merchant of that day. Daniel, who was a member of the Class of 1771, graduated July 17. I quote from the diary, "Commencement Day at Harvard. I went to Cambridge and dined with Mr. Inman, Polly Jones and Sally Inman; after dinner, I went to Colo; Murray's room in the New College (Hollis Hall), where there was a large company, the Governor, Council and too many to enumerate." At Samuel's graduation the year following, in the Class of 1772, Rowe notes as follows: "July 15th, Dined at Samuel Murray's room, where were Colonel Murray, the father, Col. Saltonstall, Judge Sewall, Colonel Oliver, Samuel Quincy, Major Vassal, and many other guests. After dinner we were visited by the Governor and Council, Admiral Montague and many other gentlemen too many to enumerate."

At this period, when names of the students in the Harvard catalogues were arranged in the order of their relative social standing, we find Daniel Murray's name placed eighth in a class list of sixty-three members, and that Samuel's name ranked fourth in a class of forty-eight. It may be of interest to mention that Levi Lincoln, a member of Samuel's class, later to be Attorney-General of the United States, and unquestionably of far superior mental attainments to either of Colonel Murray's sons, was ranked socially as forty-sixth in the class of forty-eight.

These festive gatherings were destined to mark the zenith in the upward rise of Colonel Murray's fortunes as well as those of the members of his family. Troublesome days for himself and for most of his erstwhile Harvard guests were just ahead. Political differences between the colonists and their King were getting beyond the point of reconciliation.

Under the provisions of the Charter from William and Mary, a Council of twenty-eight members had been chosen annually by the people acting through their representatives in the General Court of the Province. Following the regular custom, in May, 1774, these members of the Council had been voted for. However, when a list of the Councillors-elect had been submitted to General Gage, as acting Governor, for approval, he exercised a prerogative of negation, reserved by the Charter, and rejected the names of thirteen.

By an Act of Parliament at its last previous session, notable alterations had been made in the existing Charter. The number of Council

members had been increased by the addition of eight, to comprise a total membership of thirty-six, and the right to choose these officers had been taken from the representatives of the people. Their appointment, after August 1, 1774, was to be vested in the Crown. These new members were appointed by the King under the form of a Writ of Mandamus (which commands the recipient to perform the particular duty assigned), and the new appointees came to be known as ‘‘Mandamus Councillors.’’ Included among those selected for this fatal honor, we find the name of Colonel John Murray.

Directly, the people of the Province assembled in large groups for the purpose of compelling the resignations of these new members. A portion of one of these mobs (that is the only word to characterize, correctly, an assembly acting in a riotous manner and in defiance of established laws), having compelled Timothy Paine in Worcester to resign his appointment publicly, went to Rutland for the purpose of forcing a similar action from Colonel Murray. Upon its arrival at Rutland, this mob was estimated to number about 1500 people.

All sorts of stories have been written in reference to what occurred at Rutland, and they seem to be in agreement only at one point, namely, that the crowd did not get a chance to vent their spleen for the very good reason that they did not succeed in getting their hands upon the doughty Colonel.

Most of the tales which have been circulated (some by writers who should have known better) have charged Colonel Murray with the exhibition of a craven spirit and with refusing either to face the music or of running away and successfully hiding himself. In justice to the Colonel's memory, I am very glad of this belated opportunity to set down the historical facts. These have been established, beyond controversy, from contemporary letters. Colonel Murray is clearly shown to have been in Boston during the whole Rutland episode and to have had no knowledge of anything which had taken place there until several days afterwards.

The date of the mob's visit to Rutland was August 23. In a letter written by John Andrews, dated August 19, he informs his correspondent, ‘‘I am told that Colonel Murray's son, of Rutland, has sent down word to his father to beg him, by no means to return home, as his life would be in immanent danger, if he should.’’ Had the Colonel been the coward which his enemies have since chosen to portray him, it is apparent that he had received warning in ample time

to have avoided trouble, had he desired to. We quote from another letter of Andrews written on August 23 as follows: "Colonel Murray, of Rutland, another of them (*mandamus* councillors), set out for home this morning, accompanied by his son, who is studying physie here, being both well-armed and determined to stand a *brush*, both being very stout men, near or quite as large as Forrest." As the distance between Boston and Rutland is fifty-three miles, it is clear that the uninvited visitors had come and gone fully twenty-four hours before the Murrays could have reached Rutland, a most providential circumstance, doubtless, for both the Colonel and his son Samuel. We are not informed at just what hour they arrived home, but having done so, and learned the extreme danger of the situation, Colonel Murray left his residence at Rutland for the last time on the night of August 25. This fact was recorded by Colonel Murray himself, and may be seen still preserved among the family papers at New Brunswick.

For the next eighteen months, Colonel Murray and his family were involuntary prisoners in the besieged town of Boston. We can assume, reasonably, that at the start the Murrays were not without some funds, but before Evacuation Day arrived, their cash had been depleted to an extent which compelled the Colonel to ask for aid for transportation of himself and family of seven to Halifax.

In June, 1776, following his arrival at Nova Scotia, he went to England and a little later was joined there by his wife and younger children. They took up their residence at Cowbridge, Glamorgan-shire, Wales, and resided there for two or more years.

A Commission of Inquiry into the Losses of the American Loyalists had been appointed, and from one of the manuscript books of papers preserved in the Public Record Office at London, we glean some further information concerning Colonel Murray's circumstances. He was granted an allowance of £200 at the start, and upon a review of his case by the Commission, his allowance was increased to £250 which he continued to receive for the balance of his life.

When appearing before the Commission, he described himself as then residing in Wales with his wife and three daughters and a young son. He testified that he had, then, three sons, who were serving in the British army at New York. He stated that "he had no property in England, and that his watch, in his pocket, represented more than half of what he was worth in the World. He could not have come to

London (having no money to bear the expense of the journey) if a lady, to whom he mentioned it, had not generously given him 8 Guineas. . . . While in the enjoyment of his property in Massachusetts Bay, his rent-rolls and interest, had amounted to above £1,000 yearly.’’

We learn that, even in those days, inside influence was a surer thing to place reliance upon than merit. Colonel Murray quite naturally felt that in view of his great losses, he had received an allowance below his true deserts, and cited to the Commission the names of three individuals, whose estates had not been one-quarter of the value of his own, yet were each receiving £150 yearly income, undeservedly. He contrasted the case of Colonel John Chandler whose allowance from the Government was only £100. Colonel Murray said, ‘‘Any one of the three gentlemen named, while in America, would have been glad to have eaten a meal in Col. Chandler’s kitchen.’’

When, in 1784, the new province of New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia, Colonel Murray and his family shortly after returned, and he again engaged in business. For the ten years of his life remaining, he seems to have enjoyed a reasonably successful career. He built a fine residence in Prince William Street, in the city of St. John, which is still occupied by descendants. Within its walls still hangs the fine portrait of Colonel Murray painted in 1762 by John Singleton Copley, this being one of the comparatively few treasures which he had been able to save from the wreck of his fortune in Massachusetts Bay.

Colonel Murray’s numerous sons-in-law, comprising the Hazen, Botsford, Upham and Bliss families, also returned to New Brunswick, and from these have descended many of the Canadians whose names have since figured prominently in the later history of the Dominion.

In 1791, Colonel Murray, through William Tudor as his attorney, brought a legal action before the then newly erected United States District Court at Boston. Chief Justice John Jay presided at this trial. This case was in the nature of a test to determine whether, under provisions contained in an Article in the Treaty of Peace, he, with other Loyalists, might recover debts which had been owing to them in America prior to the Revolution. The verdict was an adverse one. The spirit of bitterness engendered by the events of the War,



lately terminated, was still too prevalent to foster feelings of a conciliatory nature toward their late enemies.

Colonel Murray's eventful life was ended by his death at St. John, New Brunswick, on August 30, 1794, in his 74th year. He was buried in the Botsford plot in the old cemetery in that city, and a monument was erected by his youngest son, Thomas, who, as we have already noted, was to follow his father to the same burial place less than three years afterward. These lines are taken from the opening inscription upon Colonel Murray's tombstone:

“The dead, how sacred is the dust,  
And sacred may this marble long remain.”

A plea that has evidently been respected during the lapse of nearly a century and an half.



## DR. PAINE'S AND OTHER EARLY GRISTMILLS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society  
by Mr. Nathan Rice, February 10, 1939

Some years ago at a gathering of those who traced their descent from the same 1638 pioneer immigrant ancestor, an old gentleman who had a part in the program began as follows: "If you want to have a good time take some subject that requires research, go to the libraries and, if need be, ask the help of the assistants, which they will gladly give, and you will have a good time." That statement is true and especially so in our city where such research can be made in several libraries, each having the information catalogued and made easy of access.

It adds much to the pleasure of looking at, or learning about, any landscape, object, structure, or even the site of a former structure, if a human interest arising from the known activities of one or more individuals can be associated with it. In this case of Dr. Paine and his mill, the home in which he lived nearly forty years yet stands—known as the Oaks—and his great-grandson, the present Mr. R. S. Paine, once pointed out, close by where Mill Brook now passes under Millbrook Street, but before the formation of Marshall Pond, a part of the foundation of the mill, and said that the two old millstones, now adjacent to Bancroft Tower and each set horizontally to show the furrows, came from his great-grandfather's mill.

Dr. William Paine was born in Worcester in 1750 when his father, Judge Timothy Paine, was only twenty. The doctor enjoyed a long life, dying in his Worcester home in 1833 at the age of eighty-three. Previous to entering Harvard College at the age of fourteen, he had as Latin teacher John Adams, then reading law and teaching school here in Worcester. After his graduation his life work seems to have been clear to him; he went to Salem to study medicine with Dr. Edward A. Holyoke and remained there with him three years. He returned to Worcester in 1771, and the following year, in company with two others, opened the first apothecary store in the county. While studying in Salem with Dr. Holyoke he had probably met, and become engaged to, Miss Lois Orne, for in 1773 they were married, and incidentally profited from the thoughtful custom of her father of giving to each of his daughters, as they married, £3000 and a silver service.

Feeling that his medical education required additional study he went to Aberdeen, Scotland, and perhaps elsewhere, for a year or two. Just why he selected Aberdeen is not clear, for at that time the medical school there was not very strong, according to all accounts.

The City of Aberdeen, the granite city, has today only about 20,000 less people than our own city, and the University of Aberdeen is today one of the four of Scotland and is large and well equipped—but only since 1860. At the time of Dr. Paine's stay the city had a population of about 25,000, and previous to uniting in 1860 there had long been two bitterly jealous, rival colleges—Kings, founded about the time Columbus discovered America, and Marischal, founded a century later.

At the conclusion of his studies there Dr. Paine returned to Massachusetts, but found the fires of the Revolution burning too fiercely to make it possible for him, a Loyalist, to stay, and he at once returned to England and the Continent. There seems to be some lack of agreement as to whether the Paine property here was confiscated, but it is certain that he was exiled under the Act of Banishment.

Seven years later he returned in the service of England having been appointed Apothecary General of the British Army in America. He served first in New York, for the British held New York about two years after the surrender at Yorktown in 1781, and then at Halifax, N. S. For a year following he lived with his family on the isolated island of La Tete in Passamaquoddy Bay, to the contentment of himself, but not to that of his wife who saw her children deprived of all advantages. He was now on half-pay from the British Government and the family left their island home for a new home in St. John, N. B. In 1785 he was chosen clerk of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick.

The Act of Banishment having been rescinded, he and many others, returned to the States in 1787, and for six years he practiced medicine at Salem. Then in 1793, following the death of his father, whose oldest child he was, he came to Worcester to live permanently at the Oaks, which had been begun before the Revolution and probably stood unfinished several years, or until matters had quieted following the struggle. Henceforth his life was a peaceful and useful one, for he conducted his large farm, although he sometimes rented it on the share-the-crop principle, and he was often called in consultation by other physicians.

He made brief, day-to-day records, particularly of the weather, which could be just as unpleasant and wintry then as now, on the blank pages of some small bound almanacs, which are in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. From these one can learn how to make mead, a fermented drink made of honey, water, and spices, also that he subscribed £10 for a bell for Mr. Bancroft's meetinghouse, and six shillings toward the expenses of a singing school. With reference to his farm this note of September 10, 1797, is found—"One of my hogs very sick. cut off his tail and he bled profusely"—but he later adds that the hog died.

Before his own gristmill was built, probably two or three years before 1800, one finds entries showing that on days in March, April, May, and June, 1797, one and a half bushels of rye and one and a half bushels of corn, or one and a half bushels of corn and three bushels of wheat, or six bushels of wheat, were sent to somebody's mill to be ground, for at that time there were five gristmills in Worcester. When the War of 1812 occurred he found it impossible to oppose his old friends and neighbors and so notified the British Government. Of course his half-pay allowance ceased at once. In that same year, 1812, the American Antiquarian Society was organized, and in the petition to the Legislature, signed by Isaiah Thomas, Nathaniel Paine, William Paine, Levi Lincoln, Aaron Bancroft and Edward Bangs, they ask "the privilege of holding real-estate in perpetuity of the annual value of one thousand five hundred dollars." A very modest sum.

Dr. Paine was one of the two vice-presidents of the Society in 1813-14-15, and in the latter year he delivered the annual address at the meeting in Boston of which the following is a part: "As there is no pursuit more delightful than the study of history, so there is no history so necessary and useful as that of our own country, which may be accurately traced from its first discovery to this day, and whatever relates to it may be ascertained by the most authentick documents." Dr. Paine was highly cultivated, but it was said of him that "his knowledge was detected rather than displayed."

Now let us recall the entries in his diaries relative to sending his grain to some mill to be ground, and glance at early gristmills and his mill in particular, which was probably started in 1797. Dr. Paine and his fellow-citizens cannot be considered as pioneers, so going West to some real pioneers we find this reference to them in the

"History of Indiana" by Mr. L. Esarey, who says, "The most inconvenient work of the pioneer was getting his corn and wheat ground into meal and flour. Horse mills were the earliest. The grinding was slow and poor. Next came the water mills. These were often built by settlers from the East. An undershot water-wheel usually furnished motive power. One had frequently to wait two days to get his turn."

In the book "Little Old Mills" by Marion N. Rawson, she says, "In the New York Historical Society building two little millstones are preserved which were found near the present 32 William Street, New York, near which site a horsemill was erected in 1626. These stones are less than a yard across and about seven inches thick. This may have been the first power gristmill in the country."

The book, "Little Old Mills," is interesting, but some thought and study is needed occasionally to understand the author's sketches and descriptions. Here is part of her account of a log dam: "When the construction was entirely raised the top was covered with long flagstones. These were laid with their down-stream end on the up-stream end of the logs, and extending a little above, thus leaving the other end lower, so that the next tier of stones might lap over it, and so on, always growing lower as they go up-stream." This description is not exactly clear, but after some study we know what she means.

Smaller than the New York millstones referred to, but of the same shape, were the quernstones, say eighteen inches diameter and three inches thick, operated by hand by means of a peg or handle in the runner or upper stone, and often brought from the old country by the settler in the ship with his other belongings. These quernstones were true little grinding mills, for the upper stone was given a rotary motion by the one or two persons operating it. But it would be a mistake to call them gristmills, for Webster's Dictionary defines such as custom mills, whereas the quernstones were for family use. The Indians hereabout apparently never used a rotating stone but pounded their grain in some bowl-shaped depression, as in the rock near the steps to this building, the Worcester Historical Society.

Dr. Paine's mill was probably a small one, perhaps twenty-five feet square, with a single pair of stones driven by an undershot water-wheel, say about eighteen feet diameter and four feet wide.

An overshot waterwheel, like that at Mr. Ford's mill near the Wayside Inn, is used where the water can be led from the millpond



to the top of the wheel and so fill the series of buckets on the circumference. The weight of the water in the buckets, until they begin to empty as they approach the bottom, makes the wheel rotate. Dr. Paine's mill could not have had enough head of water for this, and his undershot wheel differed from the foregoing in that it had no buckets, but about thirty paddles. The water was led down a chute to dash against the paddles then at the bottom of the rotating wheel with as much velocity as possible.

We will assume that the water had no more than a seven-foot drop down the chute, perhaps less. This made the wheel rotate about twenty-eight times a minute, and, through gearing, this was speeded up to one hundred and six or more turns a minute for the millstones. The gearing, as first constructed, was probably of wood throughout, and this brings us to an interesting book—"The Young Mill-Wright's and Miller's Guide" by Oliver Evans, published in 1795 and sold by subscription, the first two subscribers being George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Oliver Evans was a Delaware farm boy with a thirst for knowledge, and became an inventor and constructive engineer of such marked ability in several lines of activity that the Wyman and Gordon Company of our city made him the subject of a biographical sketch, of which the company published a series at one time. Like many men of genius he was more than once the victim of ridicule and fraud.

The book is in the library of the Antiquarian Society, but the part to which the title "Miller's Guide" would apply is not included. Perhaps it appeared in a later edition. The first half of the book is by Oliver Evans and treats of the principles and applications of mechanics, hydraulics, and wind-power. The second half was written at Mr. Evans' request by Thomas Ellicott, and gives detailed directions for the construction of a grainmill, as for the dam, wooden waterwheel, wooden gearing, the millstones and the auxiliary machinery.

There is in the southern part of Indiana not many miles from the city of Bedford, from whence the limestone of which Worcester's Auditorium is built probably came, and also not far from the health resort French Lick, a most attractive and interesting spot known as Spring Mill State Park. There one finds buildings, mostly of logs and small, a few original but others restored, grouped near the structure of most interest to us—the grainmill. It is too large for Web-



ster's definition of a gristmill as a custom mill to apply, and it has been restored strictly in accord with the directions given in Oliver Evans book of 1795—a fact that is stated in the printed description posted within the mill.

For the benefit of the many visitors, the mill, which is about forty feet wide by fifty feet long, three stories high, built of limestone and maintained in good order, is operated every hour and the wooden gears of all descriptions creak and groan most interestingly as they do their work. Just beyond the waterwheel and in a kind of lean-to against the wall of the mill is a restored sawmill with its straight vertical saw moving up and down. It must require several minutes to rip off a board from a sixteen-foot-long log. Contrast this with the heavy high-speed band saw seen in a southern state which appeared to saw from end to end of any sixteen-foot log, one, two, or three feet in diameter and of any hardness, in seven seconds.

Quite different from the admirable mill at Spring Mill State Park, and probably much more like Dr. Paine's mill, is the Old Town Mill, built in 1650, at New London, Conn., except that it has two pairs of millstones. One pair operated whenever the waterwheel turned, while the other could be connected or disconnected as required. The mill is never operated now, but is maintained by the city and may be easily seen from the street when entering New London and the little dell or valley in which it stands is as it always has been. The grain was simply dumped into the hopper above the stones and run through gradually, weed seeds and all, in a stream about as large as a man's finger. The apparatus above the stones, resembling ice-tongs, was for raising the upper stone and swinging it to one side where it could be turned over, thus exposing the channels or furrows in the faces of both stones when sharpening was necessary. Dull stones caused heating of the meal and consequent deterioration by fermentation.

Concerning this heating Oliver Evans' book says that "the furrows are set with such draught that meal will not pass along without proper grinding, and of depth enough to permit air to pass through to carry out the heat generated by the grinding friction."

The four-foot-diameter stones of granite at Bancroft Tower from Dr. Paine's mill have twenty-four furrows laid out as specified in Oliver Evans' book, but the sixteen stones lying in the grass near Mr. Ford's mill show other arrangements of furrows. Nearly all

those stones are granite, but the stones in the Ford mill itself are imported French burrstones.

All millstones were so placed that the lower or nether stone was stationary, while, passing up through a hole at its center, was a vertical shaft, driven from below, which rotated the upper stone or runner, which was less hard than the nether stone. Mechanism was provided by which the upper stone was raised or lowered to vary the space between the stones according to the product desired. This variation must have been frequent at the early gristmills when one customer brought one kind of grain and the next another, and one wanted flour and the next feed for animals.

Oliver Evans' book specifies that the wooden shaft of the water-wheel should be twenty-four inches in diameter and as for the wooden cogs set into the face of the cogwheels it advises that "they should be cut fourteen inches long and three inches square when the sap runs at its fullest, which should be done at least a year before they are used, that they may dry without cracking. If either hickory or whiteoak is cut when the bark is set, they will worm-eat, and if dried hastily, will crack."

Probably Dr. Paine did not operate his mill much in the winter when frozen conditions, or too high or too low water interfered; but we may picture the mill on a spring or summer day peacefully doing its work with the interior, including the miller, white with dust as such mills always were.

In the book "Bread" by Mr. Harry Snyder, he says that "the miller took his pay on a toll basis, that is, he had a certain portion of the flour in return for grinding the grain. If the miller took too much he was liable to be accused of stealing the farmer's wheat. It was in a mill that Abraham Lincoln earned the title 'Honest Abe.' This was in the summer of 1831 when he worked for Mr. Offut who operated a store as well as a flourmill at New Salem, Ill., about 20 miles from Springfield."

The toll here spoken of varied from one-eighth to one-sixteenth, for in 1635 Ipswich granted to R. Saltonstall—perhaps an ancestor of Gov. Leverett Saltonstall—permission to erect a gristmill, and the toll was fixed at one-sixteenth of the grain.

Continuing from the book "Bread" we read, "Let us take a look into the old gristmill. A fanning mill occasionally was used to remove from the wheat some of the coarser dirt and weed seeds.

Generally the wheat went directly from the farmers' bags into the hopper over the millstones."

"All the wheat was more or less contaminated. Much of it was threshed by the trampling of horses, as is done in some countries today, and a bit of horse manure was a regular constituent of such wheat. If threshed by hand with the flail the contamination was varied with dirt from the farmer's boots, and hence the old-time bread is described by many as having a nutty flavor."

Dr. Paine's mill may have had a sort of rotating sieve provided with coarse bolting cloth for the removal of some of the bran from the fine flour and leaving stock to be returned to the stones to be reground.

In the modern flour-mills, of which there are around six thousand, large and small, in our country, every care is taken to prevent contamination, and in the big mills, as at Minneapolis, with an output of ten thousand barrels per day, the wheat is repeatedly sifted and washed. In such mills constant care and skill are necessary to produce a uniformly high-standard product from wheat of ever-varying characteristics.

Slow-moving millstones are now never used; instead, fast running steel or porcelain rollers, a few inches in diameter. The substitution of these rollers, originally developed by a Swiss engineer, for millstones, and the modern gradual reduction roller process, came at a most opportune time, just as the western states were beginning to produce more abundantly the hard wheats which were not adapted to millstone grinding. Mr. Snyder says that "the baker of today could not make quality bread from the soft, low-gluten flours ground at the gristmill."

In conclusion, the following is from the book "Industrial Worcester" by the Hon. Charles G. Washburn, wherein he says, "The third privilege (on Millbrook) was the old tannery privilege, originally built by Dr. William Paine for a grist-mill, which was run by the family for many years. About 1836, three years after the doctor's death, N. Eaton & Co. had a paper mill there. The Olivers, stone dealers, next used the privilege to grind black-lead. In the fall of 1854 Samuel Warren purchased the property of Mrs. Oliver and ran it as a tannery until 1885. This water privilege was purchased about 1888 by Mr. Stephen Salisbury."

Now, no longer a water privilege, the old mill site is the property of the Art Museum, and probably leased to the American Steel and Wire Company as part of Marshall Pond.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

At the Annual Meeting of the Society held in June, 1939, the program for the year 1939-1940 was discussed, and it was the unanimous opinion that the plan of previous years be followed, the number of regular meetings to be the same, a dinner meeting coming in November, and this plan was followed.

September 30, 1939. In accordance with previous practice, the meeting of the Worcester Historical Society was held in connection with the fall meeting of the Worcester County Historical Society at Princeton, the Princeton Historical Society being hosts. The preliminary meeting was held in the Congregational Church where a paper was read by Miss Mary H. Gregory on the history of the church. A roll call indicated representatives of several of the county societies to be present. After the meeting in the church, various places of interest were visited under the direction of members of the Princeton Society: Redemption Rock, the Mirick house, the Boylston house, and others.

Reassembling at 1 p.m., the members and guests had lunch in the vestry of the church, at which brief addresses were given. Nearly one hundred members and guests were present at the luncheon. Too much credit cannot be given Mr. and Mrs. Chandler Bullock for their constant care in attending to the details of the pilgrimage.

November 10, 1939. This meeting took the form of a dinner, emphasizing the Thanksgiving spirit. It was held in Wesley Church, the ladies of the church providing a bountiful repast. Forty-one members and friends attended, several being in costume. There were brief addresses by President Coombs, Dr. Farnsworth, Mr. C. C. Ferguson, of Millbury, Mr. Chandler Bullock, and Executive Director Captain Cross. The meeting closed with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," Mrs. Cross acting as accompanist.

In accordance with custom the December meeting of the Society was omitted.

January 12, 1940. The paper at this meeting was read by Secretary Ripley P. Bullen on the subject "An Archaeological Dig in Worcester County," illustrated by many excellent lantern slides. The attendance was over fifty.

February 9, 1940. Executive Director Captain Cross spoke on "The Prints of Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives." This was a most inter-



esting address, illustrated by many Currier and Ives prints, some the property of the Society, others loaned.

March 8, 1940. The paper was by Librarian Emeritus, Mr. Frank Colegrove, based on material gathered by Hon. Ellery B. Crane, former President and Executive Director of the Society, on the subject "The Salisbury Mansion Schools, and the Experience of a Worcester Teacher 50 and More Years Ago." This paper was most effectively read by Miss Anna T. Marble.

April 12, 1940. The paper was by Mr. Charles E. Ayers on the subject "Furnishings of Tap Rooms of Early New England Taverns," illustrated by a great number of specimens of wooden, metal, glass, and earthen vessels used in early days. A most interesting paper, and the attendance, in spite of a storm, over forty. Mr. Ayers had himself provided refreshments following the meeting.

May 10, 1940. The paper prepared by Librarian Emeritus Colegrove was read most effectively by his daughter, Miss Colegrove; the subject was "Green Hill, Worcester, Massachusetts, and the Family, the Greens of Green Hill." The attendance was unusually large, over sixty.



## THE ANNUAL MEETING

June 14, 1940.

This meeting was called to order at 8 p.m., President Coombs presiding. Fourteen members were present.

The meeting was devoted to the annual reports of the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Executive Director, and the President. These reports follow.

President Coombs requested Dr. Farnsworth to report on the Spring Pilgrimage of the Worcester County Historical Society at Oxford, Saturday, June 8. Dr. Farnsworth stated that some sixty sat down to the luncheon at the Congregational Church, while an even larger number had participated in the trips to the various points of interest, so effectively set forth in the program prepared by the Oxford Historical Society. Dr. Farnsworth emphasized the pleasure and profit always attending the pilgrimages of the County Society, also the great value of the organization in welding together the separate societies in the county, and in advising and cooperating in the organization of new societies. A case illustrating this is the organization of the Oxford Society during the past year, this organization having come about largely because of the interest in the County Society.

Discussion of plans for the future being in order, Mrs. Marsh suggested that the Executive Director invite various organizations in the city to meet from time to time at the rooms of the Society, a speaker being supplied by the Society, or the clubs supplying their own speaker, the facilities of the Society being supplied gratis, the museum being opened, and all privileges of inspection, etc., being accorded. Such organizations would be the Home Club, the Hall Club, the Fireside Club, etc. County organizations might also be included.

Mrs. Marsh also suggested that the members of the Worcester County Historical Society be invited to the dinner to be given in place of the regular November meeting, this dinner having taken the place of the regular meeting last year, as will probably be done in the future. She also suggested that songs be supplied at this dinner, community singing, also possibly by a quartette.

Dr. Farnsworth announced that the Fall Meeting of the Worcester

County Historical Society will be held Saturday, October 5, at Southbridge and Sturbridge.

After each report had been presented, it was, on motion, voted, that the report be accepted and placed on file, the understanding being that the several reports, possibly abridged in certain cases, would appear in the Annual Publication. And it is noted here that, with the report of the Treasurer, is filed the certificate of the Auditor, also the statement signed by President Coombs as to the examination and verification of the list of securities.

The Committee on Nominations for the year 1940-1941, Miss Emma Forbes Waite, Chairman, Mr. Chandler Bullock, Mrs. Donald W. Campbell, presented its report through its Chairman, as follows: for President, Professor Zelotes W. Coombs; for Vice-Presidents, Mr. Edward F. Coffin, Mr. John W. Higgins, Mrs. Arthur W. Marsh; for Secretary, Mr. Nathan Rice; for Treasurer, Mr. Dwight S. Pierce; for Executive Committee, the above-named officers and Mr. Charles E. Ayers, Dr. Albert Farnsworth, Mrs. Harriet M. Forbes, Miss Anna T. Marble; for Finance Committee, Mr. Chandler Bullock, Mr. George W. Mackintire, Mr. Edgar L. Ramsdell. On motion, it was voted, that the report of the Committee on Nominations be accepted. A ballot was held, and the above list of officers for the year 1940-1941 was elected unanimously.

President Coombs thanked the Committee on Nominations for its effective work, and the meeting adjourned at 9.10 p.m., to the Worcester Room, where refreshments were served under the direction of Mrs. Captain Cross.

In the absence of Secretary Bullen, this report is submitted by President Coombs.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the second successive year the Society has operated with a small deficit. The loss for the year ending May 31, 1939, was \$84.16, and for this last year was \$174.78. Some of the expenses incurred during the past year have been extraordinary and will not reoccur for some time.

Investment income this year amounted to \$1,858.32, compared with \$1,912.31 for the preceding year. Membership dues were \$903.00, compared with \$840.00. Operating expenses, which include salaries, printing, heat and light, cleaning, postage and telephone, insurance, etc., were \$3,280.02 this year, compared with \$3,064.97 the preceding year.

The customary check of \$100.00 was given to us by the Hester N. Wetherell Estate, and was gratefully received.

Note. The complete Report of the Treasurer was, of course, submitted, the above being merely an abstract. The complete Report is filed at the rooms of the Society.

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

During the past year the Society has suffered loss by death, but it has added several new members.

Four Bulletins were issued during the year, dated November, 1939, January, March, and May, 1940. These Bulletins reported various activities of the Society, acquisitions, etc. They were produced at no cost to the Society, the paper being furnished by Mr. Hamilton B. Wood, of the Commonwealth Press, the printing done by the Boys Trade School, and the postage paid by a member of the Society. To these kind friends formal and appreciative acknowledgment has been made. The Bulletins were well received by the members of the Society and by others in the city, also by various other historical societies in different parts of the country. It is questionable whether the Bulletins will be continued, but some form of regular publication is now under consideration by representatives of our Society, of the Free Public Library, the Natural History Society, the Art Museum, and possibly others. Such a publication would follow, in many details, the former "This Week in Worcester," and if undertaken should fill a real need.

Notable in the material accomplishments of the year is the construction of the fence along our western line, the material having been obtained from Wetherell House, when the iron fence there was removed. A wire fence across the back of our land forms a fairly complete enclosure, and will enable us to maintain our lawn in fairly presentable condition. Too much credit cannot be given our capable assistant, Mr. Lambert, in this important work.

During the past year the Society was presented a bust of the late Hon. Isaac Davis, which now stands in our hall. It was the gift of Mr. Wynant Vanderpool, a grandson of Mr. Davis, of Newark, N. J. Early in May Mr. Vanderpool came to Worcester and viewed the bust in its present location, expressing great satisfaction with the arrangement.

Twice during the past year the Society has acted as host to a branch of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, offering the use of its rooms, and, at the second meeting, supplying refreshments through the generosity of one of our Society's members. Our Society is always glad to offer its facilities to any organization that may be interested.

The usual Publication will be issued early in the fall, and the pro-

gram for the year 1940-1941 will be issued at about the same time.

The President earnestly hopes for greater publicity for the work of the Society in the future, for its collections, its meetings, always open to the public, also for new members. The Society is doing a most valuable work, on very limited financial support. If this support could be increased, its work could be greatly expanded.

The President cannot too highly praise the faithfulness, ability, and devotion to their duties of the members of the staff, Executive Director Captain Cross, Mr. Waite, Miss Reid. They accomplish wonders. The President would also express his warmest appreciation of the faithful service of Treasurer Pierce, who has served most efficiently for seventeen years and is ready and willing to continue.



## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIETY

It is said "Happy is that nation whose annals are short." In this brief summary of this year's work we want to assure our members that the staff continues to work in harmony and with fine cooperation. We want also, to pay our tribute to the President of the Society whose oversight and interest have been a source of joy and inspiration to all of us.

Our function here as we see it, is a double one: First, we must receive, record, guard and display the varied gifts which come to us during the year; second, we must fit this institution into the cultural life of this community. This latter function fills much of our regular time. During the current year we have had 2,659 visitors. They come from far and near, as individuals and as groups. Last winter in addition to the regular visits from the high school history classes we were fortunate in having the senior classes from each of the city prep schools. These groups require special preparation and our success with them is shown by the frequent revisits they make as individuals. We are happy too to report that we are often called upon to receive confirmation classes from different religious sects who apparently feel that they should learn to render unto Caesar as well as to the Deity. To these groups especially patriotism has a strong appeal and it is a real pleasure to have them as guests. Local societies, collectors' clubs and social groups ask us for an occasional evening visit and their meetings have been among the most pleasant we have had. Individuals are as assorted as the heterogeneous population of this city can furnish. The ethnic mixtures we meet among our young citizens are a constant source of wonder to us, and their frequent "But we are Americans now" is a joy to hear.

Donations to the museum have numbered 143 and to the library 96 during the last twelve months. These have been properly recorded, marked, catalogued and distributed about the building in their appropriate places. In addition to this regular work, the secretary has finished cataloguing and cross referencing, donations of the past several years, a task which has taken many months of painstaking, conscientious labor. My assistant has a never-ending task of labeling cases and their contents and evidence of his fine craftsmanship is on view throughout the museum. Your attention has

been called from time to time to our special exhibits and group arrangement.

In addition to our regular work we receive daily letters requesting information on a variety of subjects. For example we are now tracing the descendants of the man who invented the steam calliope. Our correspondent has one of Mr. Stoddard's original machines and threatens to visit us in further search. A local educator wants to see his grandfather's letter in which he (the grandfather) naïvely proposed marriage to his lady love. A graduate student is preparing a thesis of the French-Canadian migration in Worcester. A visiting boy demands to know how they bored the Revolutionary Flint Lock. Another student is seeking the first town map of Auburn, and a young lady requests the loan of a costume for a fancy dress party. These activities merely fill in the chinks of our regular routine but they do lend variety to the work we do and enjoy.

To our visitors young and old we feel it incumbent on ourselves to stress constantly the genius which this city and county have produced in a mechanical way, yet in ways and in products which make easier our daily lives. In other words we try to instill in all a real pride of the city and county, to point out the natural beauty of the country we live in, and the good fortune to be citizens of this fair land. If a few of the seeds we scatter help in making a better city, a better country, then in a small way we feel that this Society will have contributed its share to the city's cultural life.









The  
Worcester Historical Society  
Publications

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 6

September, 1941

Published by  
The Worcester Historical Society  
Worcester, Massachusetts



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## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1941-1942

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>President</i> . . . . .  | ZELOTES W. COOMBS  |
| <i>Vice-Presidents</i> . . . . .  | { EDWARD F. COFFIN<br>JOHN W. HIGGINS<br>MRS. ARTHUR W. MARSH                            |
| <i>Secretary</i> . . . . .  | NATHAN RICE  |
| <i>Treasurer</i> . . . . .  | DWIGHT S. PIERCE   |
| <i>Executive Board</i><br>The above-named officers and Chair-<br>man of Finance Committee, also . | { CHARLES E. AYERS<br>ALBERT FARNSWORTH<br>MRS. HARRIET M. FORBES<br>MISS ANNA T. MARBLE |
| <i>Finance Committee</i> . . . . .  | { CHANDLER BULLOCK<br>GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE<br>EDGAR L. RAMSDELL                          |

### *Executive Staff*

GEORGE I. CROSS, *Executive Director and Librarian*

KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant  
in Museum and Library*

WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to the Executive Director*

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## FOREWORD

### THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1875

The purpose of this Society is to gather, preserve, and display for public benefit, historical material of all kinds, especially that relating to Worcester City and County.

The Library contains all the local histories available, and seeks all local articles dealing with Worcester historical research. It contains works by local authors and has a well organized collection of over twenty thousand manuscripts, maps, broadsides and newspapers. Much of this material is unique and of great importance.

The Museum displays many thousands of objects and pictures of historical significance. Many of these objects are of general interest while others, like local inventions, are a source of Worcester pride. Our aim is to illustrate from the actual tools, toys, clothing, ornaments, home utensils, heirlooms, works of domestic utility and art, the way Worcester County has worked, played, loved and grown in population, influence and aspiration.

The resources of the Museum and Library are increasingly used by students of all grades in the city and county schools in connection with their study of history, local and national. We aim to stimulate local pride and to inculcate those lessons of fair play, forbearance and love of our fellows which have made our country great.

The Society is supported by membership dues and income from small invested funds. These receipts are never adequate for our increasing needs. We appeal to all who are interested in this valuable American work to aid by entering into membership in the Society or by gifts of a historical or monetary nature.

Gifts by will may be made in the following form:

I give the sum of ..... Dollars to the Worcester  
Historical Society of Worcester, Massachusetts.

## NOTABLE WOMEN OF WORCESTER AND WORCESTER COUNTY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Miss Anna T. Marble, May 9, 1941

Before beginning this account of some notable women of Worcester and Worcester County, it seemed wise to see what the poets, saints, and sages had to say about women in general. With this purpose in mind Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations" was consulted. The search was not fruitful in appropriate quotations, however. Mr. Pope's idea that a "woman's at best a contradiction still" was not quite what was wanted; neither was Shakespeare's "she is a woman" exactly the right note. However, the latter quotation is the most apposite, for, certainly, as this paper is definitely about women, we may say of each one mentioned, "she" was "a woman."

Who was the first woman in Worcester or Worcester County? We cannot name her, to be sure, but we know something about what she was like. She was an Algonquin Indian, a descendant of tribes who came originally from Asia, probably by boat or on ice across the narrow straits to Alaska. Gradually these first Indians were pushed eastward. By the time the first woman arrived in Worcester, she was a member of the tribe of Nipmuck Indians of whom there were about two hundred in the vicinity of Worcester when the white man came. Perhaps she lived in the Pakachoag village of about twenty families. She was tall, slight, and agile; she had a small, low forehead, and a large mouth. What did she do? She made the bark wigwam, she collected the wood for the fire, she carried water in a bark bucket, she raised the corn and squash. The corn she pounded and, wrapping it in leaves, she cooked it in ashes. Her sewing was done with a needle of bone, and thread of elm tree fibres. She had some pottery. She cared for her children. I wish we knew more about her, but, in our own Museum, we may see some of the things she used and saw. After all, she was the first woman in Worcester and Worcester County. All honor to her!

Who was the first white woman in Worcester or Worcester County? That is a different story. The first white settler of Worcester was Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury, who came here some time before 1673. The records are silent about the first Mrs. Curtis,

but as the Curtises were the first family in Worcester, a Mrs. Curtis should certainly be mentioned. I have been given, by a member of the Curtis family, the following picturesque details of an early Mrs. Curtis.

This Mrs. Curtis was the daughter of John Prentice, minister in Lancaster, Mass., from 1700-1748. His daughter Elizabeth married a Mr. Robbins for her first husband. Her second husband was Captain John Curtis, of whom she was the second wife. As Mrs. Curtis she was famous as one of the most beautiful and stylish women of Worcester. As she rode pillion behind her husband in a fine scarlet coat, she attracted much attention. What an attractive picture that makes of style and dash!

Another member of the Curtis family, Miss Elnora W. Curtis, was the first Worcester-born woman to receive a Ph.D. This was granted by Clark University.

Another woman of Worcester in the early days should be mentioned at this point, Mrs. Digory Sargent. When, in 1702, all the inhabitants of Worcester were urged to flee because of danger from Indians, Digory Sargent, in spite of repeated warnings, refused to leave. What do we know about his wife in this matter? Well, anyway, she stayed with him, to meet, as we know, death from an Indian tomahawk somewhere on the Tatnuck hills as the Indians were taking her and her children into captivity. Very little to go on, you may say, but she must have been a brave and devoted woman.

From Indians and Indian wars let us turn to a woman who wrote about them. Probably most of you here were "brought up," as it were, on Jane G. Austin's "Standish of Standish," which taught us so vividly the history of the Pilgrims. Its author has a connection with Worcester. Mrs. Jane Goodwin, originally named Mary Austin, was born here in Worcester on February 25, 1831, the daughter of Isaac Goodwin. Her father, a lawyer, an antiquarian, and an historian, lived at the time of his daughter's birth, on Lincoln Street near the present St. John's Church. Her mother was Elizabeth Hammath, a poet, or should I say, poetess. Mr. Goodwin died when his daughter was young, and she and her mother moved to Boston. Jane was interested in the Pilgrims because of her ancestry and because her father owned many records and mementos of them. In Boston she began to write when very young, first for

her own amusement and then for publication. When she was 19, she married Loring Henry Austin. There were three children. After her marriage, she lived in Concord, where she knew the Emersons, etc. She was a gracious, hospitable woman. Her summers were spent in Plymouth. She is best known for her books "Standish of Standish," 1889, "Betty Alden," 1891, "A Nameless Nobleman," 1881, "Dr. LeBaron and His Daughters," 1890. Surely, for those of us who read and enjoyed her books, it is pleasant to reflect that their author was once our fellow-citizen.

Another Worcester woman whose books deal with the past is Miss Eva March Tappan. Miss Tappan was born in Blackstone, Mass., on February 26, 1854, the daughter of Edmund March Tappan, a Baptist clergyman, and Lucretia Lodge Tappan. The father died when the daughter was six. Miss Tappan graduated from Vassar in 1875, received her A.M. in 1895, and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1897. May I ask you to note those dates? What an amount of splendid work she must have done to receive a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1897, when not very many women received such a degree, two years after her A.M. In 1897 she began teaching in the Worcester English High School. She retired from teaching about 1902 to devote herself to writing. She was an inspiring teacher. Her pupils said of her that they did more work for Miss Tappan than for any other teacher, but that the work was so interesting that they did not realize that they were working. About the time that Miss Tappan retired from teaching a rich uncle of hers died. By will he left most of his property to her. When a cousin was asked if she felt defrauded that the uncle's property had not been divided evenly, she said that her cousin Eva was such a lovely woman and had worked so hard that she deserved it all. What a tribute! Miss Tappan wrote and edited many books. Among these I will cite "Charles Lamb, the Man and the Author," in 1896; "Ella, a Little Schoolgirl of the Sixties," 1923, said to be autobiographical. She wrote charmingly about cats. Her series of books on life in Saxon and Norman times and in the age of chivalry still interest young readers. She edited a splendid collection of reading for children called "The Children's Hour." She died January 29, 1930. By her will a trust fund was made available for the education, at Vassar, of Worcester and Worcester County girls, and there is today a group of fine Worces-



ter girls whose careers at Vassar were made possible by Miss Tappan. Probably some of them will be, some day, notable women of Worcester and Worcester County.

Let us turn our attention to another Worcester woman, a college graduate and at one time a teacher and later a writer, Mrs. Charles F. Marble, Annie Russell Marble. Annie Maria Russell was born in Worcester, August 10, 1864, the daughter of Isaiah Dunster and Mary Wentworth Russell. She graduated from Smith College in 1886, received her A.M. in 1895. From 1887-1890 she taught mathematics and English in Worcester. Her former pupils considered her the best mathematics teacher in the world. They said that anyone and everyone understood geometry when Miss Russell taught it. In 1890 she married Mr. Charles F. Marble. Two children were adopted. Mrs. Marble was a lecturer, an editor, a writer. Many of us here have been benefited by Mrs. Marble's fine courses of lectures. There was always something individual about them. In a course on inspirational women, Mrs. Marble had searched for the contributions to great work done especially by the sisters of great men. I shall never forget the delightful stories of Herschel's sister who "minded the heavens for William"; of Mozart's who wrote the piece of music especially admired by Queen Victoria when the brother played before her; the brother wrote his sister that he "reluctantly confessed" to the Queen that his sister, not he, wrote the music. Of Mrs. Marble's work as an author I wish to mention especially her book on Isaiah Thomas. You all remember, I am sure, Mrs. Marble in her beautiful velvet dress giving here in our own hall an account of her work on that book. She was tireless in verifying details. We are told that she motored far into New Hampshire to see a teapot once belonging to Isaiah Thomas that her ideas and account of his household surroundings might be clear and exact. Mrs. Marble had a social side as well. Worcester people will long remember her delightful teas, and the luncheons in the big dining-room of her house, built for comfortable entertaining.

Another Smith College graduate, connected with Worcester, is Mrs. Augustus McKinstry Gifford, who, as Fannie Stearns Davis, lived on Ashland Street in Worcester, when she was a little girl, from 1887 to 1893 while her father was pastor at Union Church. She was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1884, studied at the New England Conservatory of Music 1904-1906; taught English at Kemper



Hall, Kenosha, Wisconsin, 1906-1907. She married Mr. Gifford in 1914. Her daughter Rebecca, born in 1915, graduated from Smith. In her youth Mrs. Gifford looked like a poet. She was tall, graceful, red-haired, dreamy-eyed. Her conversation was unusual and interesting. Two of her books are "Myself and I," 1913; "Crack Dawn," 1915. Her verse is always graceful and musical, and has a definite personal note. May I quote a typical poem?

My soul goes clad in gorgeous things,  
Scarlet and gold and blue.  
And at her shoulder sudden wings  
Like long flames flicker through.  
And she is swallow-fleet, and free  
From mortal bonds and bars.  
She laughs, because eternity  
Blossoms for her with stars!  
Oh, folk who scorn my stiff gray gown,  
My dull and foolish face,  
Can ye not see my soul flash down,  
A singing flame through space?  
And, folk, whose earth-stained looks I hate,  
Why may I not divine  
Your souls, that must be passionate,  
Shining and swift as mine?

As the poet seeks for the unknown in the heart of mankind, so the explorer seeks the unknown in the world around us. Worcester's most distinguished explorer is Mrs. Fannie Bullock Workman. She was born in Worcester January 8, 1859, the daughter of Alexander and Elvira (Hazard) Bullock. She died January 22, 1925. She was educated in Miss Graham's Finishing School in New York, and in Dresden and Paris. On June 16, 1881, she married Dr. William Hunter Workman. The Workmans had one daughter, who became a geologist. They traveled extensively in Norway, Sweden, and Germany, even before 1889 when Dr. Workman resigned his practice, after which they traveled in Europe and Africa for nine years. Later they traveled in the Orient, frequently on bicycles. Mrs. Workman says in her books, that she had always been attracted to mountains, but in 1899 when, with her husband, she made her first trip to the Himalayas, she began to give them her special attention.

To show how quickly mountains became an enduring interest, we have to say that in 1906 Mrs. Workman held the world mountaineering record for women. She made numerous first ascents, she climbed numerous peaks over twenty thousand feet high, she crossed and explored glaciers, she discovered watersheds, and mapped previously unsurveyed territory. No wonder she held a mountaineering record. She wrote books in collaboration with her husband, such as "Algerian Memories," 1895, "Sketches Awheel in Modern Iberian," 1897, "In the Ice World of Himalaya," 1900, "Two Summers in the Ice Wilds of Eastern Karakorian," 1917, etc. Her books are of permanent value to geographers, and are illustrated with excellent photographs.

Besides these accomplishments she was an excellent botanist, she lectured to learned societies. In France she was made Officier d'Instruction Publique in 1904, and was the first American woman to lecture before the Sorbonne. She held the highest medals of ten European geographical societies. She was a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, of the Royal Scottish Geographic Society, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. She was also a student of art, literature, and music, especially Wagner. She died in Cannes, and her ashes lie buried in Rural Cemetery.

As for her books I wish to mention especially "Two Summers in the Ice Wilds of Eastern Karakorian." This book recounts the exploration of nineteen hundred square miles of mountain and glacier, the conquest of the Great Rose or Siachen, the world's longest non-Polar glacier. The expedition which this book recounts Mrs. Workman headed and planned herself, though Dr. Workman went along. She says the object of the expedition was to have the glacier completely surveyed and its important peaks triangulated, a definite map made with real names. Her account of the planning is most interesting—the assembling of supplies, engaging servants, guides, etc. After the expedition had started, there are descriptions of windstorms and sandstorms, terrific cold, icy streams, etc. The photographs of mountains and glaciers are marvelous. Very interesting, too, are pictures of Mrs. Workman's indomitable figure in short skirt, high boots, hat tied on with a scarf. What a record! She had to endure criticism and jealousy concerning her achievements, but I fitly close with a quotation from one of her books. "I have had what no man or woman can take from me, what is

above all price, the satisfaction of my work, which I have made as good as circumstances would admit of, and which, I trust, will receive a favorable verdict from those who come after me.”

Another woman whose life took her far from Worcester was Dorothea Dix. She was born in 1802 in Hampshire, Maine. Her ability was inherited from her grandfather, Dr. Elijah Dix, a Boston doctor, not from her father who had a feeble character and was a religious fanatic. Her first connection with Worcester is that she taught school in Worcester when she was 14 years old. After teaching here she started, in Boston, an excellent school for young girls, which specialized in natural science and moral character. On March 28, 1841, she took a Sunday School class in the East Cambridge House of Correction. To her horror she found insane persons were kept in unheated rooms. She spent two years investigating conditions. Through good spokesmen an appeal was made to the Massachusetts Legislature, and a bill to enlarge the Worcester Insane Asylums was carried—her second connection with this city. Her work was done by investigation, a wise choice of spokesmen, and the influence of the press. A woman with a sweet, low voice, a gentle manner, and a quiet dignity, she never appeared in public, but through her efforts the legislatures of Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, improved the care and treatment of the insane; and outside the U. S., she worked in Halifax, Scotland, and on the continent of Europe. On June 10, 1861, she was made Superintendent of Women Nurses in U. S. However slight Worcester's connection with her, we should be proud that we have any claim to her.

In a recent magazine I found an interesting item concerning Miss Dix. It seems that just before Lincoln's first inauguration Miss Dix was a social worker in Baltimore. While calling on a sick child in that city she heard the child's father, in the next room, talking with a friend about blowing up the railroad while Lincoln was passing through Baltimore on his way to Washington. Her warning to the authorities gave them a chance to change Lincoln's route so that he reached the capital in safety.

Another woman of world-wide connections is Clara Barton, born in Oxford, December 25, 1821. She learned about army life from her father, who had served under Anthony Wayne in the Indian

Wars, and about the care of the sick from nursing her brother David for two years. A phrenologist said of her, when consulted, "Throw responsibility upon her. As soon as her age will permit, give her a school to teach." At 15 years of age she began teaching. In Bordentown, N. J., she persuaded the school trustees to give free education to all the children of the town by teaching them for three months without pay. Later, after a period of nervous exhaustion, she was working in the Patent Office, when, in April, 1861, the 6th Massachusetts Regiment arrived in Washington after the Baltimore Riot. After Bull Run, distressed by the lack of supplies, she advertised in the *Worcester Spy* for provisions for the wounded. She had not forgotten Worcester. She became Superintendent of Nurses, but her great work was supplies and distribution. For four years after the war she directed the search for missing soldiers. As you all know, she encountered the work of the International Red Cross after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. After founding of the American Red Cross she was its president for twenty-three years. During that time she went personally to scenes of calamities in the U. S., Turkey, and to Cuba in 1898 to work with the reconcentrados, when she was 79 years old. In 1884, at the International Conference of the Red Cross at Geneva, she caused the conference to accept the American amendment to enable the Red Cross to work on calamities in peacetime. Today, with a world full of calamities and wars, we can forget the criticisms of Miss Barton and say of her, the country is proud of her, a truly great soul.

From the great world and its affairs, let us come back to a purely local incident, which concerns a notable woman, the first woman to receive a salary of \$1000 for teaching in a Worcester high school. She certainly was notable—to receive such a salary in those far-off days. Well, may I say that she was handsome—and stylish. It is painful to say this, but the school authorities, men, invited the other women high school teachers to a meeting at which the lady with the \$1000 salary was exhibited as a model to the others. It was suggested that the other teachers dress in the same manner. There was a pause. Then another woman high school teacher said, "If you will give us \$1000 salary, we shall be glad to dress as she does." There were at least two notable women at *that* meeting.

Let us turn from school to art. We have just lost Mrs. Albert C. Getchell, one of America's greatest women etchers. Those of us



who knew Mrs. Getchell remember her wit, her charm, her lovely artistic house, her beautiful garden. Her spirit lived again in the Art Museum exhibition of her etchings. Surely, you all recognized in them her exquisite taste and appreciation of beauty, as well as her artistic ability.

Two notable sisters are next on my list, Mrs. Alice Morse Earle and Frances C. Morse. Alice Morse was born in Worcester, April 27, 1853. She was educated at the Worcester High School and Dr. Gannett's boarding school in Boston. In 1874 she married Mr. Henry Earle of Brooklyn, N. Y. She lived in Brooklyn in the winter and in the summer at her father's house in Worcester. She was a great traveler. She died in Hempstead, L. I., in 1911, and is buried in Worcester. Her death was hastened by her being in the wreck of the S.S. *Republic* in 1908. While escaping from the ship she fell into the water just as she was about to step into the lifeboat. Because of danger from the sinking ship the lifeboat had to leave its station at once, but as she sank in the water, her long hair became loosened, and a sailor, grabbing it, pulled her by her hair to safety. Her first published writing was in the *Youth's Companion* on old Sabbath customs as related to her by her grandfather. This article was later enlarged for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Books followed yearly. She considered her best work "Two Centuries of Costume," published in two volumes in 1903. She lectured and wrote for magazines as well as publishing books. In her field of home life in Colonial days, she is said to have mastered *all* the available material. We may well be proud of her.

The other sister, Miss Frances C. Morse, was born in 1855, and died in 1933. She was a fine musician as well as an authority on old china and other antiques. At one time her collection of china was one of the three finest in this country. She had one old plate which was the only one of its kind in the world. To be sure, the plate was not in perfect condition, to say the least, but its value was great nevertheless. An important book by her is "Furniture of Olden Times." Miss Morse had traveled extensively. In her later life she became a devoted gardener. When her garden on Chatham Street could be improved no more she rented some land near the Summit for a garden. In order to protect this garden she organized the boys of the neighborhood as a guard. There were no depredations in *her* garden. A splendid cook, she was fond of entertaining.



There may be those in this audience who remember the delectable little pumpkin and mince pies that appeared on her dining table, beautifully set out with priceless old china and pewter, and with flowers from her garden.

A woman in whose literary work Worcester may make a small claim is Miss Isabel Florence Hapgood. Her father was a conductor on the Boston and Maine Railroad and he made his home here when his daughter was young. Miss Hapgood was born in Boston, Mass., November, 1850. She was educated in Farmington, Conn. She did important work in translating, especially from the Russian language. She translated the works of Tolstoy, Gogol, and Turganев. Besides this work, she did important translating in Spanish, Italian, and French. Her translations from the Russian are given high praise in Brooks' "New England: Indian Summer."

In connection with school Mrs. Milton P. Higgins should be mentioned. She took the almost non-existent Congress of Mothers and Teachers and made it into the present Parent-Teacher Association, which every day in every state of the Union helps young America to adjust in the difficult new world of school so that he is a better citizen in the adult world—certainly a great contribution.

From literature to politics we now reach Mrs. Winslow Sever Lincoln. Mrs. Lincoln, born Nellie Blake Webber, on November 28, 1858, in Chicago, was the daughter of Lydia McClellan Blake and Captain Edwin Blake, a captain in the Civil War. Miss Webber came to Worcester to stay with an aunt and uncle. She entered the first class of the Worcester State Normal School, but was denied a diploma, despite her good marks, because she was too young. After a year of successful teaching she was granted her diploma. She met her husband while she was teaching in the Thomas Street School. She had five children. For many years she successfully ran Willow Farm, located where the State Teachers College is now. Her home was large, beautiful, and hospitable for her friends and those of all her children. Besides all these activities she learned to read and speak German after she was forty, and French after she was fifty. She is included here because she was the first woman member of the Worcester School Committee, serving from January, 1897, when she filled out the unexpired term of Frank R. Hoyden. She was re-elected, and served until January, 1902. The remarkable point to be remembered in this connection is that, at that time, women could

be members of the School Committee, but could not vote for such members. Mrs. Lincoln interested herself in health, cleanliness of buildings and of children, as well as the usual concerns of the schools. To the day of her death Mrs. Lincoln was a beautiful and gracious woman. She set a successful and forthright standard for other women in politics.

The next phase of women's activity is medicine. Lincoln's "History of Worcester" tells us that Mrs. M. W. Gerald, wife of S. W. Gerald and daughter of Deacon John Foss of New Durham, N. H., attended medical lectures in Boston and Worcester. She commenced practice at Concord, N. H. She came to Worcester in 1851. In 1862 Lincoln said she was in successful practice here as a physician and midwife. Mrs. B. R. Clark, wife of Joel C. Clark, is the first woman in Worcester to have a medical degree. Hers was from the Pennsylvania Medical Institute in Philadelphia in 1861. She, like Mrs. Gerald, came from New Hampshire.

Another aspect of medical work is found in hospitals. The first woman in Worcester to be head of a hospital was Mother Mary Jerome Shubrick. She established the first public hospital in Worcester, December 31, 1866. First, however, about her life. Mother Jerome was the daughter of Admiral William Branford Shubrick (1790-1874), who was born at Bull's Island, S. C. He served in the War of 1812, on the *Constitution* in 1815; in 1859 he went to Paraguay to obtain reparation for the firing on U.S.S. *Waterwitch*; loyal to the North in the Civil War, he was made Rear Admiral in December, 1861. Mother Jerome was a very beautiful and popular girl when she became a nun in the Order of the Sisters of Mercy. Their hospital called St. Ann's was in the rear of the Sisters' house on Shrewsbury and East Worcester Streets. The hospital was designed "to furnish a place where females, otherwise unprovided for, might find a home in time of sickness." It was public and non-sectarian. It operated on a mutual benefit plan, which sounds very up to date. A woman who desired hospital care paid three dollars a year when well. In return she received free for one year everything needed in case of sickness—medicine, care, hospitalization. The building was 20 by 50 feet in size, of two stories, for thirty patients. There were private rooms on the first floor and a ward on the second. The nurses were the Superior and seven Sisters. The doctor in charge was Dr. P. B. Hubon. Dr.

Mignault and Dr. T. H. Gage were on the visiting staff. Maj. McConville furnished all the medicine free for more than a year. The first patient was admitted in January, 1867. One of the famous cases at this hospital was that of a girl who suffered from, and was cured of, hallucinations. Papers concerning this case were read before various medical societies. A little more should be said of these Sisters. In one year they raised for their work \$9,075.00, and spent \$4,270.32; in other words *their* hospital did not have a deficit. Besides the hospital Mother Jerome had an academy in St. Ann's Parish, a night school for day-workers. She and the Sisters made, in four years, 2008 visits in the homes of the sick and poor. After Mother Jerome left Worcester she devoted herself especially to work among prisoners. She died in Independence, Iowa. When the Worcester City Hospital was opened in 1872, the Sisters' hospital was given up as it was no longer needed.

In addition to medicine the profession of law has not been forgotten. Stephanie Grant was the first of Worcester's women lawyers. She was educated in the Worcester schools and in Smith College, where she graduated in 1903. Besides being the first woman lawyer in Worcester, she was one of the first in Massachusetts. In 1913 she married Mr. Hutcheson Page. There were three sons. She now lives in Chappaqua, N. Y. She received her legal training in Boston. Miss Grant was a slight woman with brownish hair, very gentle and attractive. I am told that her gentle appearance and gentle voice often deceived the opposing counsel into thinking that she was not a formidable opponent. However, she was a very successful lawyer with the real pioneering qualities needed as one of the first women lawyers in our state.

The lives of the women mentioned so far are available in works of reference. What of the other notable women in Worcester whose lives are not in works of reference? There are many, many of them; we all know them. They have helped to build Worcester and Worcester County, great ladies in their own right. May I mention three—Mrs. Henry I. Shue Chin, Miss Mary Felton Sargent, Mrs. George Marston Whitin of Whitinsville. Mrs. Chin was born in China, she had bound feet, she spoke almost no English; but two of her children are Ph.D.s, and four of them are Masters of Arts. She encouraged them in their efforts in the world of America, of which she saw so little. Three of them are today in Western China,

helping with their American training, much of it gained here in Worcester, to build the new China from which we hope so much. Surely, she was a notable woman. Her daughter teaches at Ginling. Miss Mary F. Sargent had a different life from that of Mrs. Chin. The daughter of one of Worcester's most famous doctors, she had every advantage of American culture and European travel. Her fine, old house, once on Court Hill and now on Hammond Street, was a center of charm and culture and hospitality. Just to call on Miss Sargent was an education. Mrs. George Marston Whittin represents the county. In the town which owes its name to her family, she was a rallying point for interest in art and literature and all good works. Once in a trolley car filled with workmen from the family factory, great anxiety was expressed over the weather on the day of the wedding of one of her daughters. Finally, the gloom of worry over the weather was permanently lightened when one of the men said, "Don't worry. When Mrs. G. M. plans, the weather will be all right." The worry stopped. May I say that the weather was perfect? Three great ladies. When shall we see their like again?

Well, this is the end. I could go on, but I will stop.

If my choice of notable women of Worcester and Worcester County does not please you, pray forgive me. If my assignment of space does not please you either, please forgive that, too. I will close as I began, with a quotation from Shakespeare. For choices and arrangement, I have "no other but a woman's reason." And I believe that, considering the subjects, should be enough.



## THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS A COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Executive Director Captain George I. Cross, April 18, 1941

First let us look at the beginning of the Society as told by the late Ellery B. Crane. He says that as the population of Worcester grew, there sprang up a desire for an organization that should give opportunity to the citizens of Worcester and its vicinity to engage in historical study and research and also to provide a suitable place for preserving and placing on exhibition relics of the past, especially those bearing on the history of the city and county of Worcester, including the people and institutions; preserving for the benefit of future generations such books, pamphlets, and documents of every description as would furnish an account of and portray the habits, life, and character of the people that came to reclaim this wilderness and plant the institutions whence so many benefits are at present derived; and to foster and encourage an interest in the history of this special locality.

After a number of conferences of those interested, it was decided to proceed to the formation of a society, and pursuant thereto a constitution was drafted and adopted. The first regular meeting under the constitution was held March 2, 1875, and a group of five officers were elected. Meetings were held at the homes of members during the next two years, at which times papers were read and discussions on historical subjects indulged in.

The Society grew with such rapidity that it was deemed advisable to apply for a charter, and the Honorable Clark Jillson was chosen to secure the necessary act, which he did. The corporation was organized at the meeting March 6, 1877, with a membership of over thirty, which was doubled during the following year. With so large a membership it became essential to obtain a permanent meeting place and the treasurer succeeded in hiring room 6 in the Bank Block on Foster Street. The first meeting held there October 2, 1877, was a gala affair and over two hundred books, pamphlets, and pictures were donated to the Society, among them the folio volume of Cicero's Orations in Latin printed in 1472, which is still a treasured possession of the Museum. It was at this meeting that



Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith," was admitted to membership, and the first death of a member, Harvey Dwight Jillson, M.D., was reported.

The growth of the Library kept pace with that of the membership. By the end of the year 1879 the librarian reported over thirteen hundred bound volumes and more than four thousand pamphlets and manuscripts, all of which made necessary the hiring of an additional room. In 1883 the Society was able to purchase about three thousand volumes of the library of the late Rev. George Allen, and in 1885, through the gift of Charlotte Downes, the Library was substantially enlarged by the collection of her husband.

During the life of the Society, there has been no step taken that produced more beneficial results than printing and disseminating its transactions and literature. Attention was thus called to the valuable work being done by the Society, and its publications soon found a demand which has continued to this day. Among the early tasks assumed was the copying and printing of the inscriptions upon the tombstones in the Common and the Mechanic Street Burying Grounds, in Worcester. Similar work was done in the burying grounds of Lancaster, Lunenburg, Mendon, and Shrewsbury, and other county towns. This initial effort awakened interest throughout the community for the preservation of both private and public records. Through persistent efforts of the Society and the coöperation of friends, it was possible to publish the early records of Worcester from the earliest date down to the adoption of the city charter in 1848, including the vital records. These were all assembled within the covers of the Society's publications, and constitute a really fine contribution to the historical record of the whole community.

The observance of the tenth anniversary of the Society was a red letter day, Mr. Crane records. The exercises were held in the Old South Meeting House on the Common on the 27th of January, 1885, with an address by the Rev. Carleton A. Staples. A banquet followed at the Bay State House, with Alfred S. Roe as toastmaster. Shortly after this important event, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, one of Worcester's leading philanthropists, who had been watching the growth and conduct of this institution, offered to assist in providing a home for it by providing a lot of land on which to erect a building and a certain sum of money toward a building fund. As

a result of Mr. Salisbury's munificence and the efforts of its members and friends the Society came into the possession of its present valuable property and building at 39 Salisbury Street, together with its valuable collection of bound volumes and manuscripts and an interesting museum of relics.

It has been said that if a group of Americans were to be dropped on a desert island the first thing they would do would be to organize, to set up a frame of government. This inherent tendency is evident all about us in the great number of societies found in this and other cities and towns of our country. The bonds which unite these varied groups may be fraternal, religious, military, social, civic, or aesthetic. They may desire to advance the rights or privileges of certain groups, to unite for mutual aid or protection, to cultivate the love of the beautiful in art or music, or to inculcate the high ideals of American citizenship. An examination of the objects of these many societies will show for the most part that their appeal is to a comparatively small group and for certain limited purposes. Of course, some of them, few in number, have a wider appeal, interests so varied that they draw on groups of divergent activities and wide social and cultural backgrounds. We believe that this Society is outstanding, if not unique, in this latter category, in the city and county of Worcester.

To paraphrase a well-known speech, let us say that all of you know some of our activities, some of you know all of our activities, but all of you do not know all of our activities. So it was thought that this would be a good time to discuss with you the things which go on in this Society of yours and to acquaint you perhaps with some of our daily activities, many of which are not so apparent to the casual visitor. Nevertheless the scope of this paper must limit us to the mention of certain things rather than the discussion of them.

We learn that the general purpose of this Society is "To gather, preserve and to make useful to the public, historical material of all sorts, especially that relating to Worcester County. It also aims to stimulate interest in historical studies; to create sentiment for the preservation of historic landmarks and to coöperate with other institutions in all efforts to these ends." Let us consider these functions briefly.

We gather historical material. Many of the gifts to the Society

come to us unsolicited, and, as you know, they vary in value and interest. But frequently we are asked to visit a home to determine the desirability of certain objects for our purposes. For instance, this week we were called on to examine an old Parsee headdress, heavily encrusted with silver, and purchased in Bombay about 1890. Of course we accepted it because it fits well into our collection of woven materials, as well as for its intrinsic beauty. Then one evening we were called on to take some Godey's prints to a home so that a certain old costume of the 1860's could be properly trimmed in the manner of the time. In this same house we were shown a collection, small but choice, of Sandwich glass and of hobnail pitchers, all promised to this Society when the present owner shall have ceased to enjoy them longer.

We know of a lovely crystal chandelier which we hope one day will adorn our front vestibule. There is a fine old sixteenth century carved oak chest from England in another home, and in a third house a set of priceless antique china. A certain cellar has a bed from the southland, frequently used by George Washington. These and other historical relics we have reached for, not too insistently, but with hopes that they will find a final resting place in our Museum. We do not seek large collections because of lack of space, but we have been promised certain choice pieces from local units which will add greatly to the beauty of our Museum. The gathering of our material is not a passive acceptance of unsolicited gifts.

To preserve and make useful to the public historical material of all sorts is no small task, especially in the limited space now available. However, each gift is entered, catalogued and either filed away or placed on display, in which case it is properly labeled. (In times of stress the office frequently looks like a junk shop and a special effort is necessary to get things cleared out.) The preservation of the Museum material is a constant care. Periodically all leather goods must be treated with neat's-foot oil, and, to prevent dry rot, all wooden articles have to be similarly cared for. Then, too, there is endless need for minor repairs to the numberless objects which, despite our best efforts, youngsters will handle.

Interest in historical studies is stimulated in a variety of ways. First, we are a source of local historical material and lore. This material is in frequent demand by students of our institutions of learning. We gladly aid them, and in return ask that we be fur-

nished a copy of their finished work for our own historical file. It may be only a small article by a high school student for the school paper or it may run to a two-hundred-page thesis for a Ph.D. degree. In either case, we are building up a rich file of material which it is hoped will in time become a source of rare value. Then, too, there is some demand on the part of collectors and hobbyists for information about certain items found in our Museum of the type which interests them in particular. This frequently leads to correspondence to our mutual advantage and later to visits to our Society. Our own stimulus in historical studies comes from the youngsters who visit us here and who are full of questions which even we cannot always answer.

Let us look at some of the questions which we have been asked during the past winter, bearing in mind that the youngsters who ask them, while lacking in age and experience, are filled with curiosity. Do you know all of the answers?

Did Worcester ever have a curfew?

How were the Colonial flintlock muskets bored?

What is that monument in Institute Park for?

For what purpose was the Bancroft Tower built?

What are fluid oil lamps?

What is a sewing bird?

We want to see a peg lamp.

Did Indians weave different kinds of baskets?

How many animals give us wool for clothing?

Were the Hessians, in Rutland, prisoners from Bennington or Saratoga Convention troops?

What is the history of the monument on the Common?

Do you know what a "lazy squaw" stitch is?

What is the story of the city of Worcester seal?

These are a few of the questions which might lead to considerable research. Then, too, as children hunt for various objects in the Museum we find that they do not usually know what is meant by a sap yoke, a kaleidoscope, a technicon, a black walnut whatnot, bleeding knives, a Sheraton secretary, molding planes, a flint and steel, a rosewood writing desk, a chevaux-de-frise, a bannock board, a Hessian's helmet, a sand shaker.

Oddly enough some of the older visitors are not wholly acquainted



with all of these things. So the dissemination of historical knowledge is one of the regular and constant functions of the Society.

Our visitors follow somewhat the usual pattern. There is the old resident who has been passing by for twenty years and has never yet seen the Museum. The newcomer to the city is our most interested visitor. Youngsters in increasing numbers become acquainted with the joys of the treasure hunt and come again and again with new friends whom they delight in showing about.

In addition to the casual visitors, there are the numerous organizations which have visited our Museum in the past year and have shown keen interest and appreciation of our treasures.

Also, some twelve hundred school children of the seventh and eighth grades have come with their teachers and have had, as a result of the preliminary talks and treasure hunts, not only their historic interests quickened but also their civic pride in this city in which they live. These school children who came perhaps the first time under compulsion, have, of their own free will and pleasure, returned again and again to visit the Museum and to enjoy the relics on display there.

Because of the high interest we feel in these classes let us consider them a moment. We discuss Worcester, its size, physical characteristics, cultural advantages, and then learn that it is a heterogeneous city. We find that over twenty-five different nationalities or blood streams here begin to be woven into one great pattern which we call American. We can show from members of the class itself, blue-eyed blondes from northern climes, red-headed, freckled Celts from Bonnie Scotland and the Emerald Isle, and brunettes whose origins extend from the Pillars of Hercules to the Caspian Sea. And they know that they are friends, chums, comrades. And they know, too, that across the sea in the lands of their origins there is hatred and strife, and has been for centuries. The first lesson we impress on them then is the folly of hatred, the greatness of the simple lesson "Love thy neighbor as thyself." We then learn that Worcester is a manufacturing city and that here a great variety of articles are made, and we attempt to name them. To make these many things requires intelligent operatives, men like their own fathers and brothers, through whose efforts they are clothed and fed and sheltered. This mechanical intelligence in this community has produced the many great and important inventions of which we speak and examples of



which we have on display in the Museum. Thus their gratitude and civic pride are stimulated. Finally they are asked how they can make their class better, and from their own lips learn that it is possible by each one making himself a better citizen; and that the place for that effort is *here*, and the time is *now*. Thus the school, the city, the state, the country is made a finer place by their individual efforts. If any of them, if some of them, learn that the two lessons of love thy neighbor and eternal vigilance are the price of Liberty, then we feel that we have done something to make the Worcester Historical Society worthy as a community activity.

## SOME LITTLE-KNOWN ANECDOTES FROM THE BRADFORD MANUSCRIPT

An abstract of the talk given before the Worcester Historical Society on February 14, 1941, by George W. Howland

Unless otherwise noted the facts are from Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" printed under the direction of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1928.

### PILGRIM FATHERS

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#### 1.

#### BACKGROUND

1492—1620

Source: Histories in General

An age of exploration and settlement in the Western Hemisphere.  
Spain and Portugal on the "way out" as world powers.  
Holland, France, and England on the "way in."

All Europe was in an almost continual state of war. About the time of the Pilgrim Fathers and for a half century before, the *Dutch* were the "Rulers of the Seas."

### Form of Government

All of Europe was under monarchical rule.

Only Holland and England had anything approaching a democratic form.

Holland was far ahead of England in this. Holland had in 1620 a written constitution, the written ballot, compulsory recording of deeds and mortgages, land widely distributed by inheritance, an independent judiciary, a free press, free schools, hospitals, separation of Church and State.

## 2.

### WHY THEY CAME

Bradford gives these reasons:

1. The hard life they had to lead.
2. Old age coming on, so now or never for the leaders at least.
3. Their children were in danger of becoming Dutch, and also the hard life was aging them before their time.
4. To spread the Gospel.

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This writer believes that the following must have been in their minds:

- a. A chance to own land—not rent it.
- b. Freedom from barbarous laws.
- c. An opportunity to found a free government.
- d. Freedom to worship God in their own way.

## 3.

### PATENTS HELD

1. From the Virginia Company—taken in the name of a friend, Mr. John Winecob. It was never used as they did not land in the territory held by the Virginia Company.
2. A second from the same company taken in the name of a friend (supposedly), John Peirce.
3. A third taken out by the same person, but worded so that the second was void. He planned to make the Pilgrims his tenants.

So the Merchant Adventurers who financed the Pilgrims had to buy him off at a cost of at least \$10,000 in money of today—1941.

4. Taken in the name of William Bradford, his heirs and assigns, but intended to be in trust for the Colony as a whole. At the request of the Court (Legislature) of the Colony he freely relinquished all his claims for himself and for his heirs. (Some small pieces of land were kept by him. Date 1640.)

Plymouth *never* had a *charter*.

#### 4.

#### HOW THE EXPEDITION WAS FINANCED

1. A group of merchants, headed by Thomas Weston from London and vicinity, numbering about 72 furnished the most of the money.
2. The Pilgrims themselves sold their all and raised about 1200 pounds sterling. This would be a value of \$24,000 in 1941.
3. Bradford *nowhere* states the cost of the expedition, but Captain John Smith says he believes it was about 7,000 pounds sterling, or \$140,000. (Several reliable writers agree that Smith was in a position to give a good estimate.)

#### 5.

#### THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

From little items in Bradford we know that the investments by these 72 merchants ran from 500 pounds to 10 pounds sterling each.

They *never* sent a pound of *food* to support the Colony.

No supplies were ever furnished for which the Pilgrims did not pay; and the money that was loaned them to make the payments was at from 30 to 50 per cent interest.

In 1625 about one-half of the merchants deserted them entirely, because the Pilgrims sent home a profligate minister they sent them.

#### 6.

#### THE CONTRACT

Between the Merchant Adventurers and the Pilgrims

The main points were:

It was to run for seven years.

All profits were to be held in a common stock.

All supplies were to be so held.

The planters (the *Pilgrims*) were to have *no time* that was their own.

At the end of the seven years *all* was to be divided *equally* between the merchants and the planters.

Due to a quarrel with Weston, who was the only merchant who came to see them off, they left England *without signing the contract*. It was signed one year later.

## 7.

### THE POUND STERLING

From information which the writer received from the Treasury Department of the United States Government in 1937, from Frederick Haskins, columnist for the Worcester *Telegram-Gazette*, and from Edward Arber, a member of the British Parliament who wrote about the Pilgrims in 1898, it is apparent that pounds sterling must be multiplied by 20 to give their value in money of 1941. For example, the purchase of Peirce's second patent cost 500 pounds, or \$10,000.

The pound sterling was *not* a coin—it was money of account, that is, for bookkeeping purposes.

## 8.

### AN INTERESTING CONTRAST

1620—The Pilgrims came in *one ship* and the investment was 7,000 pounds or \$140,000.

1629–30—The Bay people came in *seventeen ships* and the investment was 192,000 pounds or about \$4,000,000.

## 9.

### WHO WERE THE PILGRIMS?

The principal fact to bear in mind is that they were *not* all refugees who had lived in Holland. Even from Bradford, and certainly from other good sources, it is certain that a large group were from London and other parts of England. The writer believes that this group may have been one-third or even a half. It is equally certain that the leaders were from Leyden.



## 10.

## THEIR NUMBERS—102 LEFT ENGLAND

William Batten, a youth, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died just before land was sighted. His was the only death at sea.

Oceanus Hopkins was born at sea.

Peregrine White was born at Cape Cod Harbor (Provincetown).

It is generally accepted that Dorothy Bradford was drowned in Cape Cod Harbor. There is some evidence that three others died there.

When the *ship* returned to England there were *only 52 living*. After sifting all the evidence the writer believes that there were 4 women (certain), 22 men (almost certain), and 26 children.

The *adults* averaged about 35 years of age.

## 11.

## THE COMPACT

Bradford states that “a combination was made by them *before they came ashore*”; occasioned partly “by ye discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the *strangers* amongst them had let fall from them in ye ship”; and partly “that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition being considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.”

Bradford’s “History” does *not* give the signers but from other sure sources we know the 41 names. Those who did not sign were about 10 men, who were servants, 18 women, 24 girls, and 11 boys.

In the Compact they state that they are the loyal subjects of King James.

## 12.

## THE LEADERS OF THE PILGRIMS

John Carver, their first governor.

William Brewster, their elder.

William Bradford, their second governor and the historian of the Colony.

Myles Standish, their military leader.

Edward Winslow, often governor, and most able representative of the Pilgrims before the Council for New England.

Christopher Martin, treasurer.

Isaac Allerton, their agent to England and a merchant, at times the most wealthy man among them.  
All *except Martin* were from Leyden.

## 13.

## OUR DUTCH INHERITANCE THROUGH THE PILGRIMS

A written constitution, the written ballot, recording of deeds and mortgages, land inheritance, independent judiciary, free press, free and common schools, prisons as workshops (contrasted with England's "sinks of iniquity"), hospitals, *separation of church and state*, health laws, peace.

## 14.

## UNKNOWN TO THE PILGRIMS

The circulation of the blood, Newton's laws of gravitation, thermometer, barometer, telescope, clocks, daily papers and magazines, street lights, kerosene, gas, petroleum, electricity, steam engine, machine weaving, photography, telephone, telegraph, ocean cables, steamships, postage stamps, movies, radio, and thousands of other things.

## 15.

## THE GREAT INFECTION

So named by Gov. Bradford, though what it really was is unknown.

In the first three or four months *following the landing* at Plymouth 47 Pilgrims and about 12 of the ship's crew died.

It may be a fair statement to say that 22 men, 4 women, and 26 children *survived*.

## 16.

## FUR TRADE

*Very* largely beaver with a few *otter* and scattering skins of fox and minks.

The Merchant Adventurers had expected the Pilgrims to repay their debts to them through *fishing*, but it turned out that they never repaid anything by fishing, *but* repaid all their debts by their *fur trading*.

## 17.

## BEAVER DATA

35-70 pounds.

Skin—36-38 inches long, 24-28 inches wide.

Fur— $\frac{3}{4}$  inch thick, chestnut brown in color.

A skin weighs about 1 pound.

One skin was worth—in 1620-1640, \$20; in 1941, Worcester, \$70.

*Used for hats* in England in 1620-1640.

A beaver has 2 to 6 young in a litter.

At first the Pilgrims paid the Indians 1 pint of corn for 1 beaver skin. Later considerably more.

## 18.

## THEIR TRADING POSTS

The Pilgrims had *four fur trading posts*: *Manamet Post* (now Bourne on the Cape Cod Canal), *Kennebec Post* (near the present Augusta, Maine), *Penobscot Post* (on the Penobscot River in Maine), *Connecticut Post* (on the Connecticut River just above the present Hartford, Conn.).

The *Kennebec Post* was the most successful.

## 19.

## LAND HOLDINGS

By the contract with the Adventurers *everything*, including the land, was held *in common* at first.

In 1623 a parcel was given each family or group for present use *but not for inheritance*.

In 1624 an acre was given to each person *for continuance*.

In 1627, 20 acres were given to each person *for continuance*.

In 1640 Gov. Bradford surrendered his patent to the General Court of Plymouth. Then land *began* to be held *for inheritance*.

The assigning of land for continuance was made for the purpose of increasing the corn crop, both for subsistence and *trade*. Very successful.

## 20.

## THE SO-CALLED PURCHASE

In 1627 a composition was made with the Merchant Adventurers by which 7 Pilgrims and 4 of the Adventurers (especially friendly

towards the Pilgrims) assumed all the debts of the colony (2400 pounds sterling or \$48,000) in return for the absolute control of the Colony's *fur trade* for 6 years.

By thus getting out from under the control of the Merchant Adventurers they were able to bring over many of their friends in Leyden.

## 21.

## DEBITS

|      |  |           |
|------|--|-----------|
| 1621 | Ship <i>Fortune</i> with their first return captured by French in English Channel—Loss ..... | \$10,000  |
| 1621 | Forced purchase of Peirce patent—Cost .....  | 10,000    |
| 1621 | Thomas Weston given beaver worth .....   | 3,000     |
| 1624 | Pinass Little James, repairs on .....  | 1,000     |
| 1625 | Turks capture a shipment of furs in English Channel  | 17,000    |
| 1629 | Transportation of Leyden friends .....   | 23,000    |
| 1631 | French rob Penobscot trading post .....  | 10,000    |
| 1632 | Fur shipment lost off Virginia .....   | 17,000    |
| 1632 | Ships, <i>White Angel</i> and <i>Friendship</i> , unfairly charged to them .....             | 75,000    |
| 1635 | French capture Penobscot post .....  | 12,000    |
| 1638 | Beaver and money to 2 English partners though legally not needed .....                       | 51,000    |
|      |  | <hr/>     |
|      |  | \$229,000 |

## 22.

## FUR SHIPMENTS

Gov. Bradford says that the Pilgrims shipped to England from 1631–1636 12,530 pounds weight of *beaver* skins and 1,156 *otter* skins.

The beaver was sold for 10,000 pounds sterling (\$200,000) and the otter skins sold for enough to pay all the charges.

“So their debts were *all paid* with interest.”

## 23.

## INTEREST

The Merchant Adventurers furnished the Pilgrims with *no supplies* after they left England for which the Pilgrims did not pay cash.

To get this cash the Pilgrims had to borrow. The rate of interest they were charged (and paid) ran from 30 per cent to 50 per cent per year.

Bradford says such rates kept them *low*. The common interest rate for money used in England was 6 per cent to 8 per cent.

## 24.

## OCCUPATIONS OF THE PILGRIMS WHILE IN HOLLAND

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| William Brewster  | Printer  |
| Edward Winslow    | Printer  |
| Isaac Allerton    | Tailor   |
| William White     | Wool Carder  |
| Robert Cushman    | Wool Carder (not on the <i>Mayflower</i> )           |
| Richard Mastersom | Wool Carder (came about 1625)                        |
| Samuel Fuller     | Say Maker (silk worker)                              |
| William Bradford  | Fustian Maker (corduroy, moleskin,<br>and velveteen) |

## 25.

## AGENTS FOR THE PILGRIMS

To contract with the Merchant Adventurers:

John Carver and Robert Cushman with others unnamed by Bradford.

To represent the London group and those from other parts of England:

Christopher Martin (he was also treasurer).

From Plymouth to England:

Isaac Allerton

Edward Winslow

Capt. Myles Standish

In England:

James Sherley, one of the most active of the Merchant Adventurers.

## 26.

## INDIAN FRIENDS

*Samoset*—Their first Indian visitor.

*Massasoit*—Chief of the Indian tribe that had headquarters at Mt.

Hope in the present Rhode Island. A treaty between him and the Pilgrims was kept for 50 years.



*Tisquantum* or *Squanto*—Lived at Plymouth and served them as guide until he died in 1622 at Manamoyack Bay (Chatham).

*Hobbamock*—Lived at Plymouth and served as guide.

*Note:* The Indian tribe which had inhabited Plymouth had been exterminated by a plague in 1617.

## 27.

## OLD COMERS

Those who came in the *Mayflower*, 1620, the *Fortune*, 1621, and the *Anne and Little James*, 1623, were called the Old Comers.

In the *Mayflower* were 102 persons.

In the *Fortune* were 34 men and the Widow Ford, who bore a son the night she landed.

In the *Anne and Little James* about 60 persons for the "general" and another group who came on their "perticular" (number not given).

## 28.

## CATTLE AND HORSES

In 1624 Edward Winslow brought over 3 heifers and a bull on the ship *Charity*. These were the *first neat cattle* in New England. So *no milk* for the first four years.

A horse is first mentioned in 1632 as belonging to Gov. Bradford.

Two dogs very probably came on the *Mayflower* and possibly poultry and swine, though Bradford does not directly say so.

## 29.

## DOCTOR

Their doctor, Samuel Fuller, died in 1633 and Bradford mentions no other.

## 30.

## GOVERNORS

During the first 48 years of the Plymouth Colony there were only *four* men who served as governor:

John Carver—1 year (the first).

William Bradford—31 years (not all consecutive).

Edward Winslow—3 years.

Thomas Prence—13 years.

## 31.

## MARRIAGES

For many years they were few, as there were few women. The first was between the Widow Susanna White and the Widower Edward Winslow in May, 1621. It was a civil service—they had no minister—it was a Dutch custom and Winslow had been so married in Holland at his first marriage.

## 32.

## CALENDAR NOTES

When the Pilgrims came the New Year began March 25.

Also, the calendar was 10 days *behind* the sun time, so that later when the 10 days were added, the dates for some time were given thus, for example, October 8/18/.

## 33.

## NATURE

The Pilgrims experienced a hurricane exactly like the one New England had in 1938. Theirs was in 1635.

In 1638 they had a severe earthquake.

## 34.

## SAILORS

Bradford says there were no sailors among them, so *landlubbers* made the trips to the trading posts at Kennebec, Penobscot, and Connecticut. Yet they never had a wreck.

## 35.

## THE "MAYFLOWER"

Bradford *nowhere* in his history mentions the *Mayflower*, for he always speaks of it as the Ship. We get the name from the writings of Edward Winslow.

## 36.

## AGES AT DEATH OF THE "MAYFLOWER" PASSENGERS

In spite of the fact that they had no hospitals, no doctors (except Dr. Fuller for 13 years), no trained nurses, and no drugstores, the following data are very nearly accurate:

33 lived to be over 70 years of age.

10 lived to be over 80 years of age.

3 lived to be over 90 years of age.

So nearly all of the 52 who survived the first winter lived to a ripe old age.

## 37.

## WHERE THEY REST

In 16 different places at least.

63 at Plymouth.

7 at Duxbury.

7 in England.

3 in the sea.

3 in Yarmouth, Cape Cod.

3 in Provincetown, Cape Cod.

2 in Eastham, Cape Cod.

2 in Salem, Mass.

2 in Marshfield, Mass.

1 in the Bahamas.

1 in Middleborough, Mass.

1 in Boston, Mass. (Mary Chilton).

1 in Scituate, Mass.

1 in Dartmouth, Mass.

1 in Barnstable, Mass. (Cape Cod).

1 in New Haven, Conn. (Isaac Allerton).

## 38.

## LAST SURVIVORS

*Mary Allerton* was the last survivor who crossed the ocean in the ship *Mayflower*. Died in 1688.

*Peregrine White*, who was the first white child born in New England (in Cape Cod Harbor—now Provincetown) died in 1704.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIETY

In a society such as ours where the work does not have great variety and where our place in the community is fairly stabilized, an annual report is likely to become a cut and dried affair of statistics which vary little each year.

However an examination of this year's figures shows an oddity here and there, and at the suggestion of the president of the Society, we shall tell you why they occur.

You should know that the staff continues its regular work loyally, faithfully, and harmoniously. In this we have the support of the President whose weekly visits are both entertaining and informative. His knowledge of local history and genealogy is unrivaled and a source of constant wonder to us, and a great help at all times.

During the past year the Museum has been enriched by the donation of 133 items from 38 donors. These gifts vary from Victorian furniture to antique dolls with an occasional oddity such as the technicon, which still causes wonderment and surprise. Even boy visitors feel interested enough to contribute such things as an early type automobile lamp or an old game of jackstraws.

We have had 3625 visitors this season, an increase of about one thousand over previous years. The increase is due in part to student groups from the grade schools. From 30 different schools we have had 43 groups of children numbering 1328. They receive and participate in a talk about Worcester and its glories, where, we hope, they learn that our varied blood streams unite to flow into one harmonious river of Americanism. Then they are impressed with the fact that they may raise the level of our city, our state, our country, by making themselves better citizens here and now. In the Museum they indulge in a prepared treasure hunt, and to judge from the letters they write us, they enjoyed their visit to the Worcester Historical Society. Other groups come from Scout troops usually with a definite project in view. Parent-Teacher groups from nearby towns visit us in the evening. Their interest is general and social. An occasional Confirmation class requests a visiting date. They are our nicest groups, those from Jewish classes being rather more mature than the Christian ones. In both cases their visits are

stimulating and inspiring and lead us to have faith in the future of the country.

The Library grows constantly. Since the last report we have received 225 different gifts from 79 donors. As you know the function of the Library is specific rather than general. We should deal in Worcester material, Worcester imprints, and the works of Worcester authors. Local genealogy and history of county communities, too, find place on our shelves. Then we find growing demand for books on specific subjects pertaining to our historical past, such as period furniture, costumes, china, old glass, Indian artifacts, etc., all of which we are called upon to consult in answer to the increasing demands of the public. We are happy to report at this time that we have finally had our Library put on the approved list for a WPA project, under which it will be newly catalogued and reclassified. This work will be of great value to us.

How does a visit to this Society interest the varied groups we are called upon to serve? We find that whether it be a Confirmation class, a Scout troop, a bevy of girls or just a gang of boys, each group has different stimuli or curiosities and we seek to find what it is. Let us consider a few possibilities. One group of young ladies had their curiosity stimulated by the sight of a card of lucifer matches, the common match of our childhood. So I suggested that they consider lighting as a subject of research. So from the torch of a Cro-Magnon cave dweller they tried to trace the progress of home lighting from his cave to the modern Mazda lamp. We have on exhibit an ancient Hebrew-type lamp such as was used in the temples of Palestine of old, another small stone lamp from Pompeii; there are Betty lamps, flints and steel, early colonial lanterns, candles and candle molds, fluid oil lamps, kerosene lamps, a gas jet, and finally electric lamps of varied vintage. Consider the historical backgrounds these girls touched upon: primeval man, Solomon and the kingdom of Israel, Vesuvius and the lost cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Mediterranean littoral and its dependence on olive oil, the northern European forests with their long dark winters and the necessity of developing a long burning wax or fat candle, our own national growth encompassing the whole range of lighting development in our short national life. The very name "Mazda," from the Zoroastrian god of light, Ahura Mazda, led one girl to look up Zoroastrianism and learn something of this



great teacher and the only surviving sect of his faith, the Parsees of Bombay, India. Then she was pleased to be shown a Parsee head-dress from our collection.

Or consider the group who wanted to know about a string of carded wool. They were asked to name the animals which give us wool for clothing. Of course they came back promptly with sheep and goat. After some digging we elicited camel and llama and eventually yak. But alpaca, guanaco and vicuna they had to learn and then the habitats of all of them. This led to the work of the loom and they were able to spin a little, learning at the same time the use of warp and weft and batten and shuttle—in short, the weaving process. The next step led them to consider cotton and linen and their various uses and origins. So that we hope that a piece of cloth will never mean to them just a piece of cloth again, but a bit of fabric with an interesting background in time and space.

Fletcher Smith and his chums were examining the old cooper shop. So it was suggested that many years ago, before men bore a family name, their trade might identify them, thus Tom the Cooper became Thomas Cooper and Bill the Weaver became William Weaver. Then I requested at least twenty-five family trade names and was surprised that Fletcher Smith did not realize that he bore two of them. Indeed he had no idea the fletcher (French *flecheur*) had originally been an arrowmaker and that ancient smith Tubal Cain might have sired him, long, long ago. To my surprise, however, this particular group came back with a list containing fifty family names. I regret to say though that it was padded with such names as Steele, Stone, and Lyons among others. The main thing was that they had become interested and stimulated to think and had had an enjoyable time with us.

A few things have been mentioned. But the Museum is full of objects with interesting backgrounds, if you but consider them. A chip from the *Constitution*, General Burgoyne's Proclamation, a group of teasels, a Jacobean chest, a bleeding knife, a moustache cup, any of the thousands of objects on view can start a train of thought or research resulting in much pleasure and not a little knowledge.

We have been trying to tell you that this Museum, this institution, is not a quiet and tranquil but rather a busy and interesting place where we know it is fun and hope that our guests feel the same

way. The fun, the enjoyment are but the sugar coating to those deeper lessons of civic pride and citizenship which we constantly strive to inculcate, and which we want you, our members, to know and realize and to feel that this work is well worthy of your continued support and encouragement.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Members of the Worcester Historical Society:

The Treasurer respectfully submits his report as of May 31, 1941.

The year 1941 again shows a small loss. The loss for this year is \$91.41; expenses for the year amounting to \$2,674.41 and the income \$2,583.00.

Investment income this past year amounted to \$1,800.50 compared with \$1,858.32 for the preceding year. Membership dues have steadily been growing less; this year amounting to only \$681.00 against \$903.00 the preceding year and \$840.00 for the year 1938-1939. Operating expenses amounted to \$2,674.41 compared to \$3,280.02 last year.

The customary check for \$100 was given to us by the Hester N. Wetherell Estate and was gratefully received.

Respectfully submitted,

DWIGHT S. PIERCE,  
*Treasurer*

June 9, 1941

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

This brief summary of the activities of the Worcester Historical Society during the past year covers many matters that would regularly appear in the report of the Secretary.

In accordance with the custom of recent years, the first meeting of the season was held in conjunction with that of the Worcester County Historical Society, Saturday, October fifth, the objective of the joint meeting being "Quinebaug Village" in Sturbridge. Here the Messrs. Albert B. Wells and J. Cheney Wells have undertaken to reproduce early phases of American, especially New England, life showing what our ancestors did, where they lived, how they supported themselves—in short, the important phases of their simple and primitive life. Central in interest in "Quinebaug Village" was the great Gebhard barn, brought bodily from New York State, and set up here just as it stood in its former location, where it was built some two hundred years ago. This barn was the scene of the formal gathering of the day, at which interesting lantern slides were shown, and brief descriptive addresses were given by Mr. Albert Wells.

Other interesting buildings in the settlement were the ancient Fitch house, brought from Willimantic, Conn., and a saw-and-gristmill in actual operation, that is, the gristmill part. Power for the stones was supplied by an overshot wheel fed by a small stream running through a sluiceway from a mill pond. This mill pond was itself formed by damming a small brook some distance away. Meal was produced in this gristmill, and many of the visitors purchased small bags of this product.

After the visit to, and inspection of, "Quinebaug Village," lunch being enjoyed there, Sturbridge Common was inspected, the Publick House, former home of Colonel Ebenezer Crafts, founder of Leicester Academy, in 1784, being pointed out. The final objective of the pilgrimage was the Wells Museum, in Southbridge, containing a remarkable collection of tools, articles of household use, etc., shedding light on the methods of domestic and industrial life in early New England.

The second meeting of the season, also in accordance with the custom of several years past, was a Colonial Dinner, served in

Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church Parish House by a group of ladies of the church. The date was Friday, November eighth. Some thirty members and friends were present, many in Colonial costume. The turkey dinner was especially good. Brief addresses were given after the dinner, and songs of ancient times were sung by the company.

No meeting of the Society has been held in December for many years past, and none was held last December. Regular meetings were resumed in the rooms of the Society in January, the speaker at this first meeting, Friday, the tenth, being Miss Ruth Edwards of West Boylston, a member of the Society. Her subject was "Hats," and she developed it in a most interesting manner, using for illustration specimens from her own collection, supplemented by many from the collection of the Society, which is large. While ladies' hats were emphasized, men's hats of many and quaint styles were introduced and displayed on models supplied by the men in the audience. The ladies' hats were exhibited by some of the ladies in the audience, although Miss Edwards introduced two of her young friends who proved most attractive models.

Mr. George W. Howland was the speaker at the February meeting, on the fourteenth, a Friday, the day of the week for all the regular meetings. His subject was "Some Little-Known Aneecdotes from the Bradford Manuscript." This address appears in this Publication in abstract form. It proved most interesting, the speaker emphasizing many extracts from the famous manuscript quite unknown to the average student of our early history.

For the March meeting, Friday, the fourteenth, President Coombs presented a paper on "When Lord Amherst Came to Worcester." This paper discussed not only Lord Amherst himself, who tarried here with his army a full week on his march from Boston to Ticonderoga in September, 1758, but also the town as Amherst found it, the leading citizens, and general conditions obtaining here at that time. This visit of the commander of the British forces in the colonies during the years of the French and Indian War is especially interesting because of the residence here at that time of John Adams, master of the grammar school, later to be the second President of the United States. Adams left a diary from which the speaker drew liberally.

Executive Director Captain Cross presented a paper at the April



meeting, Friday, the eighteenth, postponed from the eleventh, the regular date, this being Good Friday. His subject was "The Worcester Historical Society as a Community Activity." Captain Cross touched upon the many calls for service that come to him in his executive capacity, not only from Worcester and Worcester County but from all over the country. He emphasized at some length the work done under his direction with pupils from the upper grades of our public schools, who come to the rooms of the Society accompanied by their teachers, are shown about the Museum, and are given a brief talk by Captain Cross on some phases of Worcester history. During the past year nearly two thousand pupils have come under these conditions, and the results of the plan have been most gratifying. The paper presented by Captain Cross appears in this Publication. It may be added that this work has been carried on with full coöperation on the part of the School Department of the city.

Miss Anna T. Marble read the paper at the May meeting, Friday, the ninth, on "Notable Women of Worcester and Worcester County." The attendance at this meeting was unusually large, and those who heard the paper marveled at the long list of really famous women, native or residents of city and county. This paper also appears complete in this issue of the Publication.

In accordance with custom, the annual meeting of the Society was held on the second Friday of June, the thirteenth. This was the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the Society since its organization. It was given over to the usual reports, to the election of officers, and to the discussion of matters of general interest, plans for the future, etc. Refreshments were served at the conclusion of the meeting under the direction of Mrs. Captain Cross.

In the discussion of general policy and of plans for the future, the opinion prevailed that the present plan of meetings for next year should be followed, no diminution in the number of meetings being made. The average attendance at the meetings has been good, showing continued interest in the nature of the meetings and in the papers presented. The discussions at this annual meeting emphasized the matter of memberships, the necessity not only of maintaining the present membership list but of adding as many new members as possible. Every effort should be exerted to secure dues in arrears from present members, while a campaign for new mem-

bers should be undertaken. The feeling prevailed that the Society is doing an important civic work, that this work should in no way be allowed to lapse or to be diminished, hence the fullest financial support is necessary. And a larger membership will result in wider interest in the Society and in what it is doing.

It was the unanimous opinion that the Publication should be continued, even though a special appeal for funds to carry it on may be necessary. The Publication is a most important vehicle, whereby relations with similar organizations are maintained. It also brings to the attention of the members and of the public at large the various papers presented and the numerous activities carried on under the auspices of the Society.

The President read the names of members of the Society who have died during the past year, and those present stood for a moment in silent tribute. The list follows:

|                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Charles L. Allen       | Mrs. T. Hovey Gage       |
| Mrs. Arthur J. Bassett | Edwin H. Marble          |
| Lucius W. Briggs       | Miss Anna M. Moore       |
| Theodore P. Brown      | Mrs. Charles G. Washburn |
| Philip N. Curtis       |                          |

The Worcester Historical Society occupies an important place in the community life of the city, a place quite unknown to most residents, but becoming increasingly important. Few people not directly connected with the Society and interested in its various activities, in the endless calls upon its records, its collections, upon the untiring good nature and deep knowledge of the executive director, are aware of its value, of its importance, or realize the amount of work done and done so quietly. As time goes on, the Society and all that it offers will become increasingly important, its priceless records, its collections, its Library, its great store of letters and other manuscript material growing in value inasmuch as all this is irreplaceable. The Society deserves the hearty support of all citizens of Worcester and of Worcester County, who realize what it is doing with its very limited financial resources. This year, 1941, marks the sixty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Society, the fiftieth of the dedication of its present building, which was in November, 1891. May we hope that in years to come our Society will receive the strong support of its members, that the list of these

members will be materially increased, and that the fine work now being done by its staff may be further extended.

It is interesting to note that the Society offers the use of its rooms, collections, etc., to any organization desiring such use, also that during the past year several organizations have taken advantage of this offer.

In conclusion, the president cannot too strongly express his appreciation of and thanks for the splendid and faithful service and coöperation of the staff, Executive Director Cross, Mr. William J. Waite, Miss Katherine Reid.











The  
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Publications

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 7

September, 1942

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## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1942-1943

*President* . . . . . ZELOTES W. COOMBS

*Vice-Presidents* . . . . . { EDWARD F. COFFIN  
JOHN W. HIGGINS  
MRS. ARTHUR W. MARSH

*Secretary* . . . . . NATHAN RICE

*Treasurer* . . . . . DWIGHT S. PIERCE

*Executive Board* { CHARLES E. AYERS  
The above-named officers and Chair- ALBERT FARNSWORTH  
man of Finance Committee, also . MRS. HARRIET M. FORBES  
MISS ANNA T. MARBLE

*Finance Committee* . . . . . { CHANDLER BULLOCK  
GEORGE R. STOBBS  
EDGAR L. RAMSDELL

### *Executive Staff*

GEORGE I. CROSS, *Executive Director and Librarian*

KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant*  
*in Museum and Library*

WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to the Executive Director*

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## FOREWORD

### THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1875

The purpose of this Society is to gather, preserve, and display for public benefit, historical material of all kinds, especially that relating to Worcester City and County.

The library contains all the local histories available, and seeks all local articles dealing with Worcester historical research. It contains works by local authors and has a well organized collection of over twenty thousand manuscripts, maps, broadsides and newspapers. Much of this material is unique and of great importance.

The museum displays many thousands of objects and pictures of historical significance. Many of these objects are of general interest while others, like local inventions, are a source of Worcester pride. Our aim is to illustrate from the actual tools, toys, clothing, ornaments, home utensils, heirlooms, works of domestic utility and art, the way Worcester County has worked, played, loved and grown in population, influence and aspiration.

The resources of the Museum and Library are increasingly used by students of all grades in the city and county schools in connection with their study of history, local and national. We aim to stimulate local pride and to inculcate those lessons of fair play, forbearance and love of our fellows which have made our country great.

The Society is supported by membership dues and income from small invested funds. These receipts are never adequate for our increasing needs. We appeal to all who are interested in this valuable American work to aid by entering into membership in the Society or by gifts of a historical or monetary nature.

Gifts by will may be made in the following form:

I give the sum of ..... Dollars to the Worcester  
Historical Society of Worcester, Massachusetts.

## GREEN HILL, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, AND ITS FAMILY, "THE GREENS OF GREEN HILL"

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by  
Librarian Emeritus Frank Colegrove, May 10, 1940

Among the many pleasant and interesting spots in Worcester there is perhaps none better known or better loved, at least by the people living in the northern portion of the city—and, especially, their children, than "Green Hill," so wonderfully adapted by nature, development and beautification to serve the purpose to which it is now dedicated in perpetuity—as a public park and play and exercise ground. Here are not only the conventional broad walks and the pretty ponds, to be looked at—the smooth lawns to be kept off of—but the up hill and down dale, the woodsy paths, to be trodden, explored, hiked and picnicked over in summer—skied and coasted over in winter—and the ponds used for swimming and skating. All this is a life-giving release from the benumbing sordidness of the crowded city contacts—and available to every individual.

But the story of Green Hill cannot be adequately told apart from that of the *family* which had there for one hundred and fifty years the center and inspiration of its life as they loved and slowly wrought the *homestead* into the thing of beauty which we know it today. There were swamps to be drained, ponds and reservoirs to be made, wildnesses to be subdued, natural beauty to be conserved—even moldings for surface form. These ancestral "home acres" were the constant magnet to which all the family, no matter how widely they had gone afield, were drawn for frequent reunions. At one of these family gatherings, September 15-16, 1861, after a separation of nearly twenty-five years, three were in Worcester; three came from New York; one from Chicago; one from Pestigo, Wisconsin; one from Copiapo, Chili; and one from Batticotte, Ceylon.

And so, in their successive generations, they have lavished their love upon it, and as they have loved it, they have beautified and adapted it, and, little by little *created* it, in its present form. Finally they have by their generosity made it possible for the city

to acquire it as a perpetual blessing—that we all might enjoy and love it as the family had done for so many years.

In a word, this Park is a *monument* to the family who loved and cherished it into being. For when you look about you here you are beholding not only a spacious, varied and beautiful public park, but also a magnificent and most fitting monument to the Greens of Green Hill, whose child it is.

Specifically, the *chief individual* contributor to the enlargement, improvement and beautification of the estate was its last sole owner, Andrew Haswell Green—not because he loved it more or had a stronger desire to have it brought to as great perfection as possible, than the other members of the family, all of whom coöperated heartily with him in every respect—his youngest brother, Martin Green, a civil engineer, and long manager of the estate, being a specially efficient helper—but he had the needed financial resources, and some special traits and abilities which either did not reside in the others or were never developed.

Seth Low, then Mayor of New York, in announcing Mr. Green's death to the Board of Aldermen, wrote:

“It may truthfully be said that to no one man who has labored in and for the city during the last fifty years is the city under greater and more lasting obligations than to Andrew H. Green. The city itself, in some of its most beautiful and enduring features, is the monument of his love, and the city may well cherish his honored name with the undying gratitude that is due to a citizen who has made it both a greater and a better city than it was.”

And another eulogist says: “Of him may it be said more truly than of the architect of St. Paul's—‘Would you see his monument? Look about you.’”

And so, as he was acclaimed father of “Greater New York,” we would acclaim him also father of the “Greater Green Hill,” and say, “Would you see his monument (and that of the whole loyal family)? Look about you.”

The family's love and devotion to the *Home Acres* was deep and persistent. It extended to the soil, the trees, even to the old buildings, which had gathered traditions, etc., which they were unwilling to lose. So when it became necessary to build a larger house to accommodate the expanding family and guests, they did not tear down the old one, but cut it into halves, lengthwise, moved the rear



half back far enough to build the needed addition—higher and more commodious—between the halves—they still forming the front and back of the completed structure.

The solidarity of the family, and continuity of their characteristics and traditions, were surely greatly enhanced by its long connection with the family seat, for when people love anything as these did the home acres, it does things to them; there is a strong reciprocal interaction of influence. And so, strongly and deeply as the home estate has been marked by the loving care of the family, I think that a no less profound impress has been stamped by it upon the characteristics and careers of the family in turn.

The greatest area of the estate was about 600 acres, made up of the Homestead, Millstone Hill, and the many small parcels which Andrew H. Green purchased between the years 1848 and 1896. The present public park contains 500 acres.

The following is a list of the successive owners of Green Hill; four individuals, in regular descent, covering 149 years (1754–1903), followed by a brief joint ownership by five nieces and nephews of Andrew Haswell Green, representing three of his brothers (1903–1905):

Dr. (and Rev.) Thomas Green  
 Dr. John Green (1st)  
 William Elijah Green  
 Andrew Haswell Green

Joint owners:

Mary Pomeroy Green  
 Lucy M. Green  
 William O. Green  
 Samuel M. Green  
 Nathan W. Green

As to the purpose and scope of this paper—it is not a genealogy nor a biography—even a biographical sketch, of the Green Hill family or any member or members thereof. It is—well, we may call it a *story*, sketchy, desultory and anecdotal, of this one of the outstanding pioneer families of Worcester who have played their parts on the stage of our community life so as to earn our admiration and love, to contribute very sensibly to the upbuilding of the Worcester of the past, and still to be a factor in the further devel-

opment of our civic life, through the generous heritage they have left us.

It is, mainly, a *pleasant* story—of goodwill, public spirit, and civic service. It will be illustrated now and again with a closeup of some one of the actors, and a few bits of contemporary history.

I will begin my narrative at the point where my knowledge of the park and the family began—in a little incident which may seem over-trivial for mention, but the tenacity of whose memory has endured with me for nearly fifty years.

Soon after we came to Worcester I took our two little girls over to Green Hill for a walk, and, feeling a little doubtful about venturing at all upon what we knew was private property, though kindly opened to some extent to the public, was carefully keeping our party from straying from the roadway, and specifically from contacting any of the many tempting apples under the trees hard by, when we met one of the ladies of the house—with, I believe, a guest or two—coming along the road. We were about to pass with the most casual greeting, when the lady flashed a bright smile of welcome, and, gathering up a handful of the choicest apples, presented them to us.

This incident—trivial? Yes, but illustrative of two characteristics very fundamental in the family, recurring again and again down the line—a gentle graciousness and kindness, and a profound and ever-alert public-consciousness. Always devoted to the social well-being of the community—not in any way as agitators or professional reformers—but always as working out the deep-seated kindness and generosity of their spirit in such ways that both the beneficiaries and themselves might enjoy the process and the fruits.

I venture to regard this trait as one of the strongest characteristics of the family, the mainspring of their many solid benefactions, and of success in their chosen vocations.

It was not the mere existence of the beautiful Green Hill estate in that locality which constituted the good fortune of those living within easy walking distance of it—but that *and* its occupancy by such a family as the Greens, who so generously permitted us all to share in the enjoyment of it, long before the city had any title in it.

I find their biographers often put to it to emphasize adequately this quality of genial courtesy in members of the family. And here is testimony from a representative member of the family itself, that

this very suave, outshining courtesy was considered a thing to be *nurtured* and encouraged by example and precept in the family circle: In a letter to his young son at Green Hill, he says, "You have no doubt looked at the babies nigh you, and given the smile of welcome to the great family of man, and to Green Hill in particular. I hope they and many others, now babes, may have occasion to say, 'I think Mr. —— Green is a very nice man, he is so kind to everyone.' " And, to connect this with my "incident," the recipient of the letter was a brother of the "lady of the smile and the apples."

And such as were the Misses Green in residence on the hill nearly fifty years ago, were also those there a generation earlier. Here are some *first impressions* of them, by Miss Anna M. W. Ward, then a teacher in the Salisbury Mansion School, in her diary:

On October 28, 1856, she wrote, "One afternoon we, with Miss Carter, were invited to take tea with the Misses Green, two delightful maiden ladies. Sister did not go, as the weather was unfavorable; but Miss C. and I did, and had a very pleasant visit. The Misses Green have a brother who is a missionary in Ceylon. He took the place of cousin Ward . . . . The home of the sisters is very unique and pleasant, and full of valuable curiosities; and the ladies themselves are extremely intellectual and agreeable."

Among the men of the family, perhaps the one most universally familiar to the people of Worcester as an exemplar of this trait was Librarian Samuel Swett Green. So radiant was his kindly courtesy that as I used occasionally, in his later years, to meet him on the street and exchange casual greetings, it was an incident to be thought of pleasantly through the day—even in the case of one a total stranger to him personally, as I was. Some other outstanding examples will be noted as we encounter them later on.

We wish to know what sort of people the members of this family were—what were their leading characteristics; what occupations or professions they followed, and *how* they followed them, that we may the better evaluate their benefactions, social and civic, to the communities in which they lived and labored—here, and, sketchily elsewhere.

Let us first consider some of those whose activities and benefactions mainly related to Worcester, and who were well-known figures among us.

The badge, or symbol of the family here which will at once occur to many of you, is "*the Doctor*," seated loungingly in his two-wheeled gig. He is a lover of horses and dogs, *and* of his patients, and his name is usually *John*. Mr. Samuel Swett Green says, "Thomas Green (Dr. and Rev.) bought this estate for his son, Dr. John Green, who went from Leicester to Worcester to live, and who was the first to bear the name and title which have been borne by distinguished physicians and surgeons in every generation of his descendants, his son, his grandson, in Worcester, his great-grandson and great-great-grandson in St. Louis."

Dr. John Green (1st), the second owner of Green Hill, was born in Leicester, August 14, 1736. He moved to Worcester soon after 1754, and settled at Green Hill, of which he became owner three years later. He began the practice of medicine at the age of nineteen and attained professional distinction. Though not greatly versed in medical books, he was an astute observer, naturally adapted to his profession, largely employed and of high reputation. He picked up from the Indians considerable knowledge of medicinal herbs, etc. He did not consider his duty to be ended by advice and prescription, but added to them faithful and vigilant nursing.

He established the first pesthouse in Worcester, and the records are full of his services to needy persons. He died in 1799.

"Dr. John Green, the second, born at Green Hill Mch. 18, 1763, became even a more famous physician than his father. He began practice at the age of eighteen. From his childhood the natural bias of his mind led him to that profession, which through life was the sole object of his ardent pursuit. To be distinguished as a physician was not his chief incentive; to assuage the sufferings of humanity by his skill was the higher motive of his benevolent mind. Every duty was performed with delicacy and tenderness. With these propensities, aided by a strong, inquisitive and discriminating mind, he attained to a preeminent rank among the physicians and surgeons of our country." *Thatcher's Medical Biography*.

He was a man of large frame, several inches over six feet, and was a striking figure in Worcester. He used to drive about in a two-wheeled vehicle, followed by a pack of dogs.

Dr. John Green, the third, son of the above, was the founder of the Worcester Free Public Library. He gave his library to the city in 1859. It consisted of about 7,000 volumes, having cost at



least \$10,000. The Free Public Library was opened to the public, in the Worcester Bank Block on Foster Street. In 1865 he gave to the Library 4,968 volumes more.

Surely the devoted, loving ministrations of Dr. and Rev. Thomas Green and the three Dr. Johns, all of whom in choosing the medical profession, evidently did so "with a predilection for using it primarily as an outlet for their kindness and sympathy," have drawn a bright trail across Worcester's history.

There is another occupation which the *daughters* of the Green Hill family seem to have been prone to adopt as an outlet for *their* kindness and missionary spirit, that is, the conducting of private schools for young ladies and misses. For instance, the successful and widely known one carried on for a good many years in New York City, by Lucy Merriam Green and her sister Mary Ruggles Green. In the then prevalent conditions in regard to facilities for the cultural education of women, this school, conducted as these sisters of the super-missionary Samuel Fisk Greek would conduct it, was surely a public beneficence. And no doubt the same holds true of the private school conducted in Worcester by Julia E. Green, a third sister of the same family.

A co-benefactor to Worcester in connection with the Free Public Library, with its founder, Dr. John Green the third, was Samuel Swett Green, Director for four years, 1867-1871, and Librarian thirty-eight years, 1871-1909. Another instance in which the long, able, zealous and loving administration of an important public institution is to be counted a major civic benefaction.

In the official memorial prepared and adopted by the Board of Directors of the Library, is this tribute:

"The Worcester Free Public Library can never lose the imprint that Mr. Green's long service has left." . . . "The Public Library can hardly be the same without the presence of the genial man who has so long presided over its destinies." . . . "Today he can number his friends in Worcester and elsewhere by thousands; here, certainly, everybody who has ever used the Public Library, or who knows the work it has done, is his friend, and that means all of Worcester."

James Green, brother of Samuel Swett Green, and a man of the same suave and courteous personality, was lawyer, extensive traveler in western United States and Europe, and President of the



Worcester Society of Antiquity (now Worcester Historical Society), 1911-1914.

I have suggested above that the solidarity of this family, and a remarkable continuity of their outstanding traits and traditions have been largely due to the reciprocal influence of the beloved homestead upon its creators during the 150 years of closest association. Now let us consider in some detail some of the generations in quest of any confirmation of this premise.

The first owner of the estate, Rev. and Dr. Thomas Green, has an almost identical replica in Samuel Fisk Green, of the fourth Worcester generation, as to outstanding characteristics and chosen pursuits. However, of course this recurrence of type in a single individual would, of itself, have little significance. But we have here something far more remarkable and impressive, that is a like close *comeback* of a whole large *family group*, parents, and children.

Thomas Green did not come to Green Hill as a youth with his character and fortune to make, but as a mature man, with his strong traits developed, his habits and pursuits long followed, and with a family, all of adult age. Let us then inquire as best we may from the available material, what manner of man this was and through what formative experiences he had come to us. To this end we will go back somewhat before his coming to Worcester, when his residence was in Greenville (now called Rochdale).

Of his children, of whom he had seven, we are especially interested only in John, for whom he bought the Green Hill estate—as the others were not identified with Green Hill.

Dr. and Rev. Thomas Green was a noted physician, with an extensive practice, but besides this practice as a doctor, he seems to have been a medical school of considerable proportions, having under his tuition from time to time 123 medical students. He was also equally eminent as a preacher, *and minister*—like this: In 1738 he founded the Baptist Church in Greenville (Leicester), the oldest Baptist Society in Worcester County. In 1888 a tablet to his memory was placed in the church, bearing this inscription, "Eminent as a preacher of the Gospel, practicing physician, man of business, benefactor of this Church, whose first meeting-house and its grounds were his gift." His house was near the church, and his widely scattered parishioners came there for their midday meal between the services. "While he was preaching on Sunday," said

Andrew H. Green, "at his home across the way, the pot was kept boiling to supply the needed sustenance to the little flock which came from all directions to attend upon his ministrations." The large iron kettle in which the meal was cooked is still preserved.

Small wonder that Hiram C. Estes, D.D., said "Dr. Green lived three lives and did the work of three men in one."

An often related incident in the life of the boy, Thomas, shows that he had already acquired the fortitude and resourcefulness of the true pioneer. Briefly, it was as follows:—At about seventeen years Thomas was left by his parents for a time at Leicester—with all his possessions, an ax, a gun, and one book on medicine—to look out for their cattle in the wilderness. While there the boy, it is said, was attacked with fever and became very ill. In his weak state he rested in a sort of cave made by a shelving rock in a little stream, and secured food by milking a cow which he induced to come to him frequently by tying her calf to a tree near the cave.

This, then, is the background out of which the youth, John, first of that illustrious line of Dr. John Greens, entered upon his career as owner and occupant of the Green Hill estate, upon attaining his majority—already for two years a practicing physician. Evidently a son after his father's own heart, whom he had himself instructed and trained as a doctor to such purpose that he eventually became even more famous as a physician and surgeon than his illustrious sire.

He was married twice and had thirteen children, three by his first wife, Mary Osgood, of Worcester, and ten by his second wife, Mary Ruggles, daughter of Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles—among them Dr. John Green, the second. Two of these entered the legal profession, two the medical, and one the clerical. Some were, for those days, widely travelled, who at each return from a foreign tour were sure to bring home some plant, vine or shrub, or some work of art, to add to the modest attractions of their simple but comfortable home. All of the children were born on Green Hill.

Dr. Cutler's statement regarding Samuel Fisk Green, "He seems to have inherited a predilection for the medical profession, and for using that profession as an outlet for his kindness and sympathy," might be applied with equal justice to a large number of the tribe.

In the other family group of our comparison, I will do as in the first, merely note briefly the salient characteristics of the father,

and inquire mostly concerning his children (the fourth Worcester generation) whose activities were in full course when the family's ownership of the estate was terminated.

The third owner of Green Hill was William Elijah Green, son of the first Dr. John Green, born at Green Hill in 1777, and died there July 27, 1865, in the room in which he was born. He resided at Green Hill all his life, with brief absences. He was of a fine presence, genial disposition, and of an unlimited hospitality, taking active interest in public questions, but shunning official life. He was married four times and had eleven children, most of them by his third wife, Julia Plimpton, of Southbridge.

A brief mention of these children, with their chosen pursuits, will be sufficient to show that they were true Green-Hillers of the most pronounced pattern—the type brought to Worcester by Rev. and Dr. Thomas, and Dr. John, the first, no whit dimmed or dissipated through the generations, but, if possible, intensified:

(By the first wife): William Nelson, lawyer, and for twenty years Judge of the Police Court in Worcester.

(By the second wife): Lucy Merriam, for many years head of a successful school for girls, in New York City.

(By the third wife):

Mary Ruggles, partner with her sister (next above) in the New York school.

Julia Elizabeth, who conducted a private school in Worcester.

John Plimpton, a physician, who practiced in China and Chili.

Andrew Haswell, lawyer, landscaper, beautifier of cities.

Samuel Fisk, for twenty years missionary in Ceylon—preacher, physician, teacher (seventy natives were his pupils in medicine, and have continued his labors there)—translator of important medical works into the Tamil language.

Lydia Plimpton.

Oliver Bourne, civil engineer.

Martin, civil engineer—manager of the Green Hill estate.

Now, so far as regards much the greater number of the members of this third-fourth generation, after 152 years of the influence of the "Home Acres," the stream of their life was running strongly after the type set by Thomas and Dr. John, the first. It could hardly rise higher than in the super-missionary, Rev. and Dr. Samuel Fisk Green. I suspect that, in his gentle, quiet way, he was even as much of a "shark for work" as Thomas himself.

Without detracting from what I have said of the reciprocal influence of the loved homestead, with its concentrated and semi-isolated family life, I think that the strongest factor in the remarkable solidarity of the family and the tenacity of their main characteristics and traditions, was not the isolation of their life on the Hill, nor simply the depth and sincerity of their convictions, but, with most of their outstanding members, their fundamental mental attitude toward the community. They went out into the community, not *to get* something for themselves, as most of us do, but *to give*—whether in Worcester or in Ceylon, having supreme confidence in what they felt they had to impart. So their own little environment had a far stronger formative influence upon them than did the greater one of the community. Just as the zealous missionaries stamped deeply their impress upon the regions which they served, but in return had their own characteristics only deepened, the Green-Hillers kept the essential stream of their characteristics strong and full in spite of much mingling with the community in the way of service.

But our story is not quite all told yet, for this fourth generation had not only its Samuel Fisk, and many others of the same ilk—a truly remarkable replica of the original type—but it had also its even more remarkable *exception*, in his brother *Andrew Haswell*, fourth, and last, individual owner of the estate. Here was a man who emphatically *did* go out *to get* certain things which he wanted, and pursued them with the full force of his being and with bulldog tenacity until he got them. What is the explanation of this phenomenon—a man who put *stark fear* into the hearts of New York's pirates and swindlers of the Boss Tweed régime, and after five years of the hardest and most discouraging work, surrounded by dishonesty, and subjected to abuse and personal danger, brought order out of chaos and placed the city's finances on a firm basis?

His astounding tenacity and thoroughness of pursuit, exhibited not only through the years of the Tweed struggle, but in the much longer battle (thirty years) for his ideal of a "greater New York," had a dampening effect on the ardor of any gang on plunder bent who found him on their trail. In his sketch of the life of Andrew Haswell, Samuel Swett Green says, "Upon retiring in 1876 from the office of Comptroller, Andrew Green assumed the extensive responsibility of executor of the estate of William B. Ogden, the



railroad king of Chicago and New York. The latter was a great business man, but, I understand, left his affairs in a somewhat unsettled condition. The very day that Andrew H. Green accepted the position of executor, Mr. Martin Green informs me, one hundred and fifty suits against Mr. Ogden were withdrawn."

Andrew Green, writing about the old house, says that it was not far from the city of Worcester, a plain wooden building, two-storied but low in the ceilings, of ample length and breadth, and anchored by a chimney of needless proportions. It stood on a by-road or lane, which was but little frequented. About the premises could be seen evidences of taste struggling for a more emphatic manifestation, but confined by imperative demands upon a limited treasury. With the deep interest which he always felt in his home and family he speaks of the homestead as having "associations which became dearer with the lapse of time . . . the very trees embodying memories which greatly enhanced their value."

As I read the indications of the record, Andrew, while still a youth, brooding (as above) over the condition and prospects of the estate, deliberately and determinedly set himself to a plan of life which should enable him to carry out his ambitions for the estate—and when Andrew Haswell really set himself, his coon, like Davy Crockett's, might as well come down.

In most of these people whom we have studied, their passion for service was universal, reaching from their doorstep to the far corners of the world, but in Andrew it was concentrated upon a few specific objects—first and foremost the interests of the family and the estate—then, in New York, the making of that city a politically clean, *and a beautiful* one.

What, then, specifically, were the things which Andrew wanted, and went out to seek? First, *money*, and plenty of it—and with it all the power which a thoroughly practical knowledge of the principles and processes of law would afford him in the handling of large affairs, especially in real estate transactions and conduct. That he avowedly set out to make a fortune is certified by the following extract from a letter written to him by his brother as Andrew was about to start forth:—"You leave us now with the hope and expectation of getting wealth. If God sees it to be best that you become rich, He will send abundant prosperity; but, if He sees that prosperity would be hurtful to you, He will in mercy



withold it, and you should pray that He would, for it will profit nothing to gain the whole world and lose one's soul."

Obviously the imperative need of money influenced him in the choice of the law as his profession, and so he went to New York, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1844, and formed a partnership with Samuel J. Tilden (at one time Democratic candidate for the Presidency), with whom he was closely associated not only during Mr. Tilden's life, but as his executor after his death. He could have found no better school for acquiring the widest knowledge and experience in the handling of large affairs—and that it was highly lucrative is evidenced by the fact that when the grim task of ferreting out the Tweed Ring was turned over to him, his first step was to provide a war chest of a half million dollars, by pledging his own personal credit. So much, then for the first of his requirements, money and power.

The second requirement was to make himself the best possible *landscaper*. So during all his intensely busy life in New York, he was putting his soul into the study and practice of landscaping—*beautifying* a city—until his fame as such was nationwide. Chancellor MacCracken, of New York University, said, "He was constantly alive to the work of beautifying the city, whether by individual effort or as a member of one or another organization." A recent address at Fraunces Tavern declared that his thoughtfulness was woven into the structure and visible aspect of New York. Here we see it in a reserved acre of greensward; there in the curve of a graceful line, like the beautiful span of Washington Bridge, and somewhere else in a sweet sounding name, like Morningside Drive.

So the love of a family for its beautiful but only partially developed estate was blessing the metropolis and its environs—reaching to Niagara Falls, where the name of Bath Island was changed to "Green Hill," in grateful appreciation of his services in the beautification of that locality—and Andrew was well equipped for carrying out his dearest object.

After the death of Andrew, "the family weighed deliberately their strong desire to keep the estate as a family rendezvous, against its wonderful fitness to the use and perpetual enjoyment of the people of the City, and the public interests prevailed." *Green Hill Book*.

On August 10, 1905, this estate was formally offered to the city of Worcester for its assessed valuation of \$104,000, upon the condition that if it were called "Green Hill," and used forever as a public park, the five owners would jointly contribute the sum of \$50,000 toward the purchase price. This offer was accepted on November 6, and on December 28, 1905, the city of Worcester became the owner of Green Hill. *Green Hill Book.*

## THE LINCOLN FARM

Present Site of the Worcester State Teachers College

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by

Dr. Albert Farnsworth, May 8, 1942

“These local annals are full of little things; names, dates, and facts; and rumors of every sort, which seem at first sight almost too trifling to be noticed, and yet, not only is it true that the general historian must essentially depend on the local, to a very considerable extent, for the mass of loose seeds from which the spirit of his narrative should be laboriously distilled; but it is also true that there is always a good deal of that spirit already made in such materials at his hand. They are full of rich meaning. They are graphic and characteristic in a high degree. They suggest far more than they say. They illustrate classes of men and ages of time. They are small but brilliant lights on the walls of the past, pouring floods of splendor from their little niches in the vast abysses around them.”<sup>1</sup>

These local annals, these little things, these facts and names and dates; this groping through the dark corridors of the past may indeed seem trifling. But it is from the threads of local history that the larger pattern of national history is woven. This then is the spirit of the history of the site of the Worcester State Teachers College. These loose threads have been gathered from early Worcester newspapers, genealogies, school board records; from the fragile yet tenuous memories of aged men and women, from faded deeds and from surveyors' plots.

The first ingredient in the spirit of this narrative tastes of salt and smells of pure mountain air. Ages ago all New England lay deep beneath the sea. Vast geological periods elapsed before land appeared. In the course of time mountains of Alpine height and grandeur covered most of what is now New England. Gradually the ice, snow and rain wore away these mountains until only their stumps remain, leaving such landmarks as Mt. Wachusett and Asnebumskit, to recall their former magnificence. In the muck of sea bottom the rich soil of the Lincoln Farm, present site of the State Teachers College, was created.

<sup>1</sup>*American Quarterly Review*, June, 1836.

Time rolled on. Some twenty-five thousand years ago the ice sheet descended upon New England and all the land was buried beneath vast fields of ice. It endured for a long time even moving over the surface of the land, grinding the rocks beneath it. Through the ages the rains fell upon the glacier; the sun melted it. Rock shod, the retreating glacier pushed huge boulders along its bottom and served as a mighty agency in transforming the land. It remade mountains, plateaus, plains, valleys, and hills. Every hill and valley, every bed of clay and bank of sand, every boulder and rounded pebble of Worcester, every river and lake, records the story of countless centuries of change wrought by the great hands of nature. The rolling character of the Lincoln Farm was created by the retreating Labrador Ice Sheet.

The beautiful hills among which Worcester nestles mask the fact that central Massachusetts is a plateau, with a general height of one thousand to eleven hundred feet above sea level. On the west it is bounded by the Wilbraham Mountains and Pelham Hills; on the east by an imaginary line passing through Westboro, Northboro, Leominster, Lunenburg, and Townsend. The Lincoln Farm was located near the eastern boundary of the central Massachusetts plateau.

The primeval forces of nature and generations of animal and human energy created for the Lincoln Farm a situation of great natural beauty, mingled valleys and hills, meadows and woodlands; wild glens and chasms; and in the distance far-off mountains rising in serried ridges; the Leicester Hills on the west; the chain of ponds, Patch's, Coes, stretching along the westerly edge of the farm.

For untold generations the Nipmuck Indians had raised corn and squash on this flat, rich land at the foot of the Leicester Hills, snared game in the uplands and caught fish in the streams. They knew full well that it was deep and fat soil. Their village was located in the hills to the west; the Tataessit Indians led by Sagamore Solomon. Little evidence remains of the occupation of this area by the Indians. Even the exact location of their villages is uncertain. Their trails have been lost. Their frail structures have disappeared. The only tangible evidence that the Indians once cultivated this site are the stone implements, arrowheads and bits of broken pottery found in the soil. Mrs. Margaret Lincoln Marcy, daughter of Mr. Winslow Sever Lincoln, has a vivid memory of a



large box of Indian relics kept in the cellar of the farmhouse, which her grandfather had gathered on the farm.

The Red Man's occupancy of this broken-up land was doomed. Events were taking place thousands of miles away which were to drive him from the land he had held for untold generations. King Henry VII, first of the Tudor line, had commissioned John Cabot to sail West and John Cabot claimed all America for the English king. And all the Tudors claimed this land, and the early Stuarts. The Puritans were a problem for handsome Charles I, and, glad to get rid of them, he granted a charter in 1628 to the Massachusetts Bay Company and title to all the land three miles north of the Merrimack and three miles south of the Charles and west by northwest to the sea.

Nearer crept the white man. The settlement of Boston in 1630 was quickly followed by the founding of towns in the interior. For a generation after the Puritans founded Boston nothing is recorded regarding the territory which is now Worcester.

The first grant of land in what is now Worcester was made in 1657 to Increase Nowell of Charlestown, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Five years later, one thousand acres were granted to the Church at Malden for the use of the ministry. In 1664, 250 acres were assigned to Ensign Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury. Not until 1673 were actual settlers enlisted in sufficient numbers to warrant making a plantation. Daniel Gookin negotiated with the Indians for the purchase of their lands. On July 13, 1674, he bought from them a tract of land eight miles square for which he paid twelve pounds of the lawful money of New England.

King Philip's War in 1675 forced the settlers to abandon their homes. A second settlement was abandoned for the same reason. The third and successful attempt was made in 1713. Jonas Rice, first permanent settler of Worcester, settled on Sagatabscot Hill. His brother, Gershom, soon followed him, followed shortly by Nathaniel Moore and Daniel Heywood. At the same time the General Court of the Bay Colony placed the authority to settle here in a group of men who were designated the "Proprietors of Worcester."

Daniel Heywood was one of these proprietors. The proprietors were assigned lots. A map showing the allotment of these lots was drawn by the late Ellery B. Crane and shows that the area which



later became the Lincoln Farm was assigned to Daniel Heywood. The Heywoods were large landowners in early Worcester. The records of the proprietors show that Daniel Heywood was granted forty acres in lots of ten acres each in the first apportionment and acquired further large tracts within the limits of Worcester. The Worcester County Abstract Company possesses the chain of titles to the land which later became the Lincoln Farm. The first link in the long chain was Daniel Heywood.

Daniel Heywood was born in Concord, April 18, 1696; came to Worcester in 1714. He resided on the site of the present Bay State House, where he, his son and grandson of the same name kept a hotel for nearly a century. For over fifty years he was a Deacon of the Old South Church. He served as Town Clerk and on the Board of Selectmen. Heywood died in 1773, was buried in the Village Burying Ground, now the Worcester Common. On the plan of this burying ground his lot is numbered 153. It is located near the Soldiers' Monument.

There were then no roads leading west with the exception of Hardwick Road, now Pleasant Street. So it seems highly probable that Daniel Heywood did not cultivate what is now the site of the Teachers College. As recorded in Book No. 81 and page 552 in the Registry of Deeds, Daniel Heywood on March 20, 1766, sold this land to Asa Moore, blacksmith, for forty pounds. It is interesting to note that Gardner and John Chandler, distinguished members of the family which later gave its name to the street which passes the State Teachers College, were witnesses to this deed.

Asa Moore was a man of considerable prominence in Worcester during the troubled years before and during the Revolution. In the Worcester Town Records, 1754-1763, appears this item: "Voted that a school be kept in the same way and manner as they were last year and that John Chandler, Jun<sup>r</sup> & Tim. Paine Esq. and Mr. Asa Moore be a committee to provide a master for ye centre School." He served on the Worcester Committee of Correspondence along with Nathan Baldwin and Levi Lincoln, Sr.

On June 24, 1769, Asa Moore sold his farm to John Moore, his son. A map of early Worcester shows John Moore owning a large tract of land bounded by Patch's Pond on the west, to what is now May Street on the east and Pleasant Street on the north. Like his father, John Moore was a prominent citizen of Worcester.

The next proprietor of this land was Gideon Paine who on April 12, 1813, bought it from John Moore. Isaiah Thomas witnessed the deed.

Up to this time, 1813, there is no record of any buildings located on the tract of land. There has been a controversy over the age of the small house now located at the westerly junction of Chandler and May Streets. Some local historians have insisted that it is the oldest house, or one of the oldest, in Worcester. The evidence seems to point to a comparatively recent building of this house. The first mention of buildings erected on the site of the Lincoln Farm is in the transfer of this property by Gideon Paine to Isaac Davis on September 1, 1854. On that date Charles Hersey, executor of the will of Gideon Paine, sold to Isaac Davis the farm of seventy-two acres situated on May Street and all the buildings. Miss Holbrook, of Sutton, Massachusetts, was present at the May, 1942, meeting of the Worcester Historical Society when this paper was read. She stated that her grandfather was born in this house in the year 1841. Furthermore, there were no streets connecting this region with the main arteries of traffic until May Street was laid out in 1827. Of course this does not exclude dirt roads connecting Main and Pleasant streets. Beginning in 1849 Chandler Street was extended from Main to Irving Street; to Park Avenue in 1856; and from Park Avenue to Tatnuck Square in 1869. The evidence points to the building of this house by Gideon Paine. It was standing on the site of the present building of the State Teachers College when William Sever Lincoln bought the farm from one Isaac Davis.

Isaac Davis held many parcels of property in Worcester. A study of the deeds recorded in the Worcester County Court House reveals that the name of Isaac Davis appears on more deeds than that of any other man in Worcester County. A distinguished citizen of Worcester, he served on the first Board of Aldermen in 1848, and during the years 1856, 1858, and 1861 was Mayor of Worcester. On September 18, 1855, Isaac Davis sold his farm on May Street, seventy-three acres, and the buildings to William Sever Lincoln for \$4,500. For two generations the Lincoln family owned this property. It became known far and wide as the Lincoln or Willow Farm; the Willow Farm because of the huge willow trees which lined May Street.

The story of the Lincoln family begins in Hingham, Mass. In

the year 1637 Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, England, emigrated and settled in Hingham, Mass. Mr. Waldo Lincoln, of Worcester, a descendant of Samuel, has traced some 3,200 members descended from the first Samuel, among whom were Abraham Lincoln and the distinguished Lincoln family of Worcester. One branch of this family migrated from Hingham to the Western plains, another to Worcester. These two branches crossed in 1848 on the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's visit to Worcester. He was entertained by Levi Lincoln, Jr., in his mansion on Elm Street, but neither realized their descent from a common ancestor.

Levi Lincoln, Sr., was the first of the Worcester Lincolns. He was active during the Revolution serving on the local Committee of Correspondence. Jefferson appointed him Attorney General of the United States, and during the year 1825 he was acting governor of Massachusetts. An active member of the Democratic Republican party he frequently wrote letters to the press attacking the Federalists, signing them "Farmer." The Federalists ridiculed him as Farmer Lincoln. His farm was a model. He introduced improved methods of agriculture and experimented with new breeds of cattle.

Several of his sons were equally distinguished. Enoch became governor of Maine; William, a distinguished historian; a third, Levi, Jr., served nine terms as governor of Massachusetts and was elected first Mayor of Worcester. Four of Levi, Jr.'s children played a prominent part in the history of Worcester—Daniel Waldo Lincoln was elected Mayor of Worcester in 1863 and 1864. His avocation was horticulture. On his farm he grew and exhibited two hundred varieties of pears. In his nursery located at the corner of Linden and Elm Streets, he raised silkworms and here he built a large tank in which to grow aquatic plants. For many years Edward Winslow Lincoln was Secretary of the Worcester Horticultural Society. He was the founder of the public park system of the United States. A third son, Captain George Lincoln, was killed in the Battle of Buena Vista. With a fourth son, William Sever Lincoln, this paper is especially concerned.

William Sever Lincoln was born in Worcester in the year 1811. Soon after his graduation from Bowdoin College he practiced law in Millbury, Massachusetts. He then moved to Alton, Illinois, where he became a Circuit Judge. He returned to Worcester in 1844. In 1855 he bought from Isaac Davis the farm which for two generations was a Worcester landmark.

Aided by his father, ex-Governor Levi Lincoln, Jr., he built the farmhouse fronting May Street and the great barns and ice house. The timbers were hand hewn. Most of the trees—maple, hemlock, oak and pine, which added beauty and lent distinction to the farm—were planted by Mr. Lincoln.

At that time Tatnuck was wholly a farming community. There were only twelve houses from Newton Square to Tatnuck. The Wetherell Farm was located at Newton Square and extended to Chandler Street; the Chamberlain farmhouse near Chamberlain Parkway, was built about the year 1825 by Andrew MacFarland; to the south Mr. Lincoln's neighbor was Jonas Hartshorn. Another neighbor was Amasa Southwick living at the corner of Mill and Chandler Streets. Mrs. Lincoln undoubtedly visited the Micah Johnson house on Mill Street, where Mrs. Johnson is said to have woven the first rag carpets in the United States. Rags to be woven into carpets were brought to her from great distances. The Gates farmhouse, still standing, was located opposite what is now the Tatnuck Church and, below, near Tatnuck Square, was located the Elkanah Rich farm. Slavery was the great problem in the days when the Lincoln farmhouse was built. The Liberty Farm house, built by Daniel Kimball, was then occupied by Stephen and Abbie Kelly Foster, famous abolitionists. And Mr. Lincoln was not unmindful of the slavery controversy. The George Newton house is one of the oldest landmarks at Tatnuck Square. It was built during the Revolution and for many years was kept as an Inn. Mr. Benjamin Flagg maintained it as a tavern of the old type. Archibald Willard maintained the famous Willard Tavern. The stagecoaches stopped there to change horses on their homeward trip from Boston to Paxton and Barre. This tavern was located where the Tatnuck School now stands. Here the neighborly farmers dropped in, and over a friendly mug of flip talked crops and politics; drank a toast to John Brown and discussed the fateful election of 1860. And among them were the Lincolns. There is a famous spring in Tatnuck, known as Silver Springs. For many years Mr. Charles Boynton, owner of Silver Springs, invited his neighbors to a general picnic on Bunker Hill Day. The land was cleared for croquet grounds and sports in general. Swings were erected for the children. Eminent speakers, among whom was Mr. William Sever Lincoln, recalled the glories of June 17, 1775. In this dignified, hos-



pitable and cultured neighborhood Mr. Lincoln settled down to farming. Scarcely, however, was he settled in his new home when the Civil War broke out.

From a boy William Sever Lincoln had been interested in military affairs. He had served as Captain of the Worcester Light Infantry. It is interesting to note that Levi Lincoln in 1803 wrote the application to Governor Strong which led to the formation of the Worcester Light Infantry. John Waldo Lincoln, son of Levi Lincoln, Sr., was Captain of this Company in the War of 1812. Daniel Waldo Lincoln had served as Captain, as well as Levi and Winslow Sever Lincoln, sons of William Sever Lincoln. When the Civil War broke out Mr. Lincoln enlisted and served throughout the War. He was wounded, taken prisoner, escaped—an adventurous story—and for his services he was brevetted Brigadier General. On his return he carried on farming until his death in 1889.

Winslow Sever Lincoln succeeded his father as owner of the farm. His four children were magnets for the children of the neighborhood—picnics, the bridle path, the hickory nuts in the fall, the chestnuts on the giant tree on the hill near the Hartshorn farm; quail and partridge, the fields of windswept daisies, the colorful Hicks gypsies, who lived on the shores of Coes Pond, the skating parties on Patch's Pond, the furry folk, the raucous call of the crow, the clarion call of the oriole—memories.

True to the military tradition of his family, Winslow Sever Lincoln was commissioned Captain of the Worcester Light Infantry and served in the Spanish-American War. The hardships which he endured led to his death, which occurred in 1902.

His widow, Helen Blake Weber Lincoln, maintained the farm until 1918 when she moved to California to live with her son. Mrs. Lincoln was born in Chicago in the year 1858, daughter of Captain John Weber and Lydia McClellan Blake. Later she moved to Worcester, living with her aunt, Mrs. Edmund Barton. She attended the Worcester Normal School, graduating in the second class. For a few years she taught school. At the turn of the century women in politics were a novelty. In 1896 the city was divided into eight wards. One of the School Board members from Ward Eight was Mr. Frank Hayden, who died in office. Mrs. Lincoln was elected to fill out this unexpired term, and re-elected for a second three-year term, which expired in 1902. Perhaps because she owned a



horse and buggy, she was assigned as visitor to such widely separated schools as Abbott, Burncoat, Greendale, Northville, and Tatanuck schools. Her interests were many. She was an outstanding member of the Shakespeare Club. Her beautiful voice reading *As You Like It* or the tragedy of *Hamlet* is remembered to this day.

The farmhouse was not occupied after the year 1918. Worcester citizens will long remember the red farmhouse, the large barn where at one time seventy-five head of cattle were kept, the stable, the shed for the wagons, the huge silo, the two-hundred-foot greenhouse, the ice house on the edge of the pond, the small building for cooling milk, the dog churn for churning butter, kept in motion by two large Newfoundland dogs.

For many years the Worcester Normal School had been seeking a new site. A beautiful site originally, the district surrounding its school had become congested. Agitation for a new site led to the selection of a Committee, headed by Superintendent Walter S. Young of the Worcester Public Schools. The present site of the State Teachers College was finally chosen. It was purchased in 1930 by the city of Worcester from Mr. George Rockwood, and presented by the city to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Mr. Rockwood was the last private owner of the Lincoln Farm. For years he had made his home on May Street in the house now owned by Dr. Benjamin Alton. As time went on he added to his original holdings. In 1916 he purchased the Lincoln Farm.

And now the final chapter in this long story. Mr. Rockwood sold to the city of Worcester nearly twenty acres, west of the College grounds. He had already given to the city a park, of about thirteen acres. To the south of the College grounds houses were creeping up Hartshorn Hill. Between this hill and the College grounds was a tract of land consisting of thirty acres and owned by Mr. Rockwood. If it were cut up into house lots the beautiful setting of the College would be destroyed. The friends of the College were fearful. But during the spring of 1942, Mr. Rockwood expressed the desire to grant this land to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It would protect the College from being surrounded by "dog houses."

It was arranged that the deed to this land should be presented to the Commissioner of Education, Walter F. Downey, on the morning of Commencement, June 12, 1942. President Clinton C.

Carpenter of the Worcester State Teachers College introduced Mr. Rockwood, who expressed his satisfaction in deeding thirty acres of valuable land to the Commonwealth. "The Commonwealth takes, it is a pleasure for me to give." So ends the story of the legal transaction.

It is a story of local annals, full of little things; names, dates, and facts. The legal transfers have been numerous. But deeds do not constitute ownership—who owns this land?

The giant oak, to the south of the College, a sapling when Worcester was founded, which has bowed before a thousand storms, owns it; the feathered folk own it, the quarrelsome blue jays, the crows in twos and threes, the song sparrows, the meadow larks, the bell-like tones of the vesper sparrow, the pheasants hidden deep; the furry folk own it, the chattering squirrels, the furtive chipmunks; the flowers own it; the fields of white and yellow daisies bending in the wind; the mists own it, the sun and the stars, the winds and the storms.

"REQUIESCAT IN PACE"

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The annual report of the Director of a Historical Society such as this is not likely to be an exciting document. This is especially true when you consider that our activities cover much the same ground from year to year. Nevertheless there is always the variety which comes from the difference in the human element with whom we deal in our daily round of duties.

Let us consider then a day at the Museum, typical of many others, and some of the things we are called upon to do during the afternoon in question. On our arrival we find a group of youngsters awaiting us. Some have been here before and have brought their friends to indulge in the pleasure of the "Treasure Hunt." We register them, issue slips, and they are off to try and find some of the objects listed on their slips. Then, of course, the fun begins for them and our activities commence. Our slips, you should know, vary in sex and difficulty. Sex, meaning slips for boys, on which are to be found guns, swords and pistols, while for girls there is likely to be listed more dolls, dresses and household implements. Deliberately we have listed items to pique the curiosity, to stimulate the interest, and to enlarge the vocabulary of the youngsters. And then the questions arise; what is a pewter porringer, a butter mold, a shillalegh, what is carded wool, what do they do with teasels? A discussion leads to all sorts of bypaths of knowledge and the child is likely to learn those animals which give us wool for clothing, the butter-making process, whether hard-tack is palatable, and the difference between a tepee and a hogan. Interest is high, fun is rife, and we hum with activity. Through it all is woven certain essentials. Our visitors get the impression that the learning process is a pleasant one, that it is fun to "find things out." They learn too that Worcester is a center of Yankee Ingenuity, that here were first produced the typewriter, the eccentric cam, that from this county came those geniuses who gave us the cotton gin, the sewing machine, the spring bed, the cantilever bridge, the diver's helmet, things which affect their daily lives and make them more comfortable and conduce to their happiness. This is the basis for civic pride, the beginning of patriotism, both of which we constantly stress. You would be proud of the prompt and happy reactions the

youngsters show as we talk with them. Remember that in this city are to be found the strains of twenty-five different nationalities, and as many more admixtures, already. To help weave this racial warp and weft into the fabric of America is one of the happiest of the functions of this Society.

Our next visitor was an old resident recently returned to Worcester, who brought with him a mysterious looking bundle. Unwrapping it he produced an odd shaped and very old tool which was unlike any in our own collection though it resembled a few. We finally located an old sketch which showed it to be a type of fromm (frome, vrome) with which the colonists chipped shingles from straight grained butts. That question settled, there arose of course the use of tools and the clever craftsmanship of the early New England settlers, a subject which had become the hobby of our visitor and about which his remarks were highly interesting.

We were interrupted by the entrance of a new visitor, a woman accompanied by twelve-year-old twins. She was a refugee from Vienna, interested and intelligent. As we discussed together the charm of old Vienna and the beauty of the nearby Tyrol she interrupted with "Ah! But this country about here is beautiful too, so peaceful and calm—and remember that you have freedom—it is so good to be here." Her appreciation of just being in America was a thing we shall long remember.

At four o'clock a group of Girl Scouts arrived. They came to study early cooking utensils and we had prepared for them a display from the contents of the Museum. In laying out the display we had been surprised at the number and variety of things we found for our purpose. The girls spent a happy and profitable hour with the exhibition which proved so fascinating to later visitors that we are going to repeat it for their benefit.

During the last year we have received over 2,400 visitors to the Museum, or an average of more than a dozen a day. In March, our busiest month, as many as forty come in a single afternoon and in June the average falls to less than five. Out-of-town visitors seem to concentrate in the months of July and September. These people are frequently descended from Worcester stock and as a result of their visits we often receive gifts of heirlooms which properly should find resting place in the scene of their origin.

The Library is in constant receipt of a variety of documents of



local and historical interest which properly belong on its shelves. Lately, several volumes, illustrated, covering both the Civil and Spanish wars have been gratefully received. It was odd to see the name of General MacArthur associated with Manila and Corregidor as we read the pages of that earlier struggle in the far isles of the Pacific. We are proud too that Worcester is still the home of literary geniuses and that the volumes of Esther Forbes and Bruce Lancaster grace our shelves.

Our extra-curricular activities, so to speak, are varied and amusing. They concern themselves mainly with answering questions which come to us by letter or telephone and deal largely with genealogical and historical data. We answer what we can but occasionally get a poser as for instance, last week, a feminine voice demanded "Are the Choctaw Indians of Negro descent?" We hazarded a guess that they were not and let it go at that. The amount of research we are called upon to do fills in our spare time, adds to our knowledge and adds piquancy to our Museum existence.

Our needs are not great. We would like some nice old china, a few pieces of antique furniture and we seek vainly for that old cobbler's bench and oh, yes, we agree with Clarence Darrow. He was asked by a gushing client one day, "How shall I ever show my appreciation?" to which he answered, "My dear woman, ever since the Phoenicians invented money there has only been one answer to that question."



## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Members of the Worcester Historical Society :

The Treasurer respectfully submits his report as of May 31, 1942.

For the first time in four years the Society has operated without a loss, the excess of income over expense for the year being \$67.78. The total expenses were \$2,686.38, and the total income \$2,754.13.

Investment income this past year amounted to \$1,753.13, a reduction of \$46.37. Membership dues, however, increased from \$681.00 to \$895.00. Incidental income amounted to \$106.00, practically the same as for the preceding year. Expenses are kept at a minimum, and this year amounted to \$2,686.38, an increase over last year of only \$11.97.

The customary check for \$100.00 was given by the Hester N. Wetherell Estate, and was gratefully received.

We are glad to report that no security owned by the Society is in default.

It is obvious, of course, that a large part of the income received by the Society is from membership dues. This is collected as a result of more or less effort, but the Treasurer would be greatly helped if the members, through their personal contacts, would encourage payment of dues and renewed interest in the work of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

DWIGHT S. PIERCE,  
*Treasurer*

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

This brief summary of the activities of the Worcester Historical Society is to be read in connection with that of the Executive Director, the two reports giving a fairly clear and complete idea of what has been done during the past year. It may be noted here that the Secretary is submitting no formal report, the two reports here recorded comprising what the Secretary's report would give.

As has been the custom in recent years, the Worcester County Historical Society planned an outing to be held early in June, the place to be Sutton and that locality, a district furnishing much of real historical value. Unfortunately the rationing of gasoline, which took effect in May, caused the officers of the County Society to postpone indefinitely the Sutton excursion. This action was regrettable but seemed necessary. It is earnestly hoped that this visitation may be held at some future date, Sutton offering many interesting historical places.

The first meeting of the Worcester Historical Society took the form of a Colonial Dinner, following the custom of recent years. The dinner was held Friday evening, November fourteenth, at the Y.W.C.A. The attendance was unusually large, many coming in colonial costume. There was no formal speaking, but many present were called upon for remarks, and responded.

No meeting is ever held by the Society in December, the first meeting of the new year coming on the evening of January ninth. Mr. Robert K. Shaw presented a most interesting paper on "Some Fosters and Some Others."

The speaker at the February meeting, on the evening of the thirteenth, was Secretary Nathan Rice, whose subject was "Wells." This paper was especially of local interest and provoked much discussion on the part of those present. At the March meeting, on the evening of the thirteenth, Mr. C. C. Ferguson read the paper on "The Many-sided and Adventurous Stephen Hopkins." This paper proved as interesting as its predecessors, and gave a clear idea of the man and of what he did.

Mr. Chandler Bullock, at the meeting on April tenth, discussed "An Interesting Episode in Early Political History in Worcester." Naturally this discussion, by a Worcester man so well versed in the

political history of the city, proved most interesting and provoked many questions.

The last meeting of the season, at which a speaker was to be heard was on the evening of May eighth, the speaker being Dr. Albert Farnsworth, the subject "The Site of the Worcester State Teachers College." Dr. Farnsworth traced the title to this land from the earliest times, bringing it down to date, and emphasizing the fact that at one time, and for many years, the land belonged to the famous Lincoln family.

The Annual Meeting came on the evening of June twelfth, and was devoted, as usual, to reports, to the election of officers for the coming year, and to a general discussion of plans and policies for the future. Of especial interest was the report of the Treasurer, showing not only a sound condition financially but a balance of \$67.78 in the treasury. The officers for the year 1942-1943 are listed earlier in this book.

It was the opinion of the members present that the plan of former years should be followed, the usual meetings with speakers being held, the Colonial Dinner in November, but no formal addresses or papers being planned for this event or for the Annual Meeting. It was the unanimous opinion that the Publication be continued as in former years.

The President read the list of members who have died during the past year, and those present stood a moment in silent tribute. The names follow:

Andrew W. Sigourney  
Leon A. Goodale  
Mrs. Walter Evans  
A. Otis Davis

At the conclusion of the Annual Meeting refreshments were served under the direction of Mrs. Cross.

The report of Executive Director Cross will appear in this Publication, supplementing the very brief summary given in this report of the President. The report of the Executive Director indicates clearly the important place occupied by the Society in the city and even far outside the city. Not only does the Society welcome to its rooms large numbers of visitors, young and old, but its officers are constantly appealed to, from all over the country, for aid in solving

problems of local history, of genealogy, and of similar import. This endless work is not apparent to the general public, and is known to but few of the members, but all requests are met, in so far as this is practicable, in so far as the limitations of time, financial support, and other considerations permit.

The President cannot too strongly express his appreciation of the faithful and efficient service of his fellow-officers, Secretary Rice and Treasurer Pierce, nor can he overemphasize his appreciation of the splendid and faithful service and coöperation of the staff, Executive Director Cross, assisted by Mrs. Cross, Miss Reid, and Mr. Waite.









*The  
Worcester Historical Society  
Publications*



NEW SERIES

Vol. II, No. 8

SEPTEMBER, 1943

*Published by*  
THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS



*The*  
*Worcester Historical Society*  
*Publications*



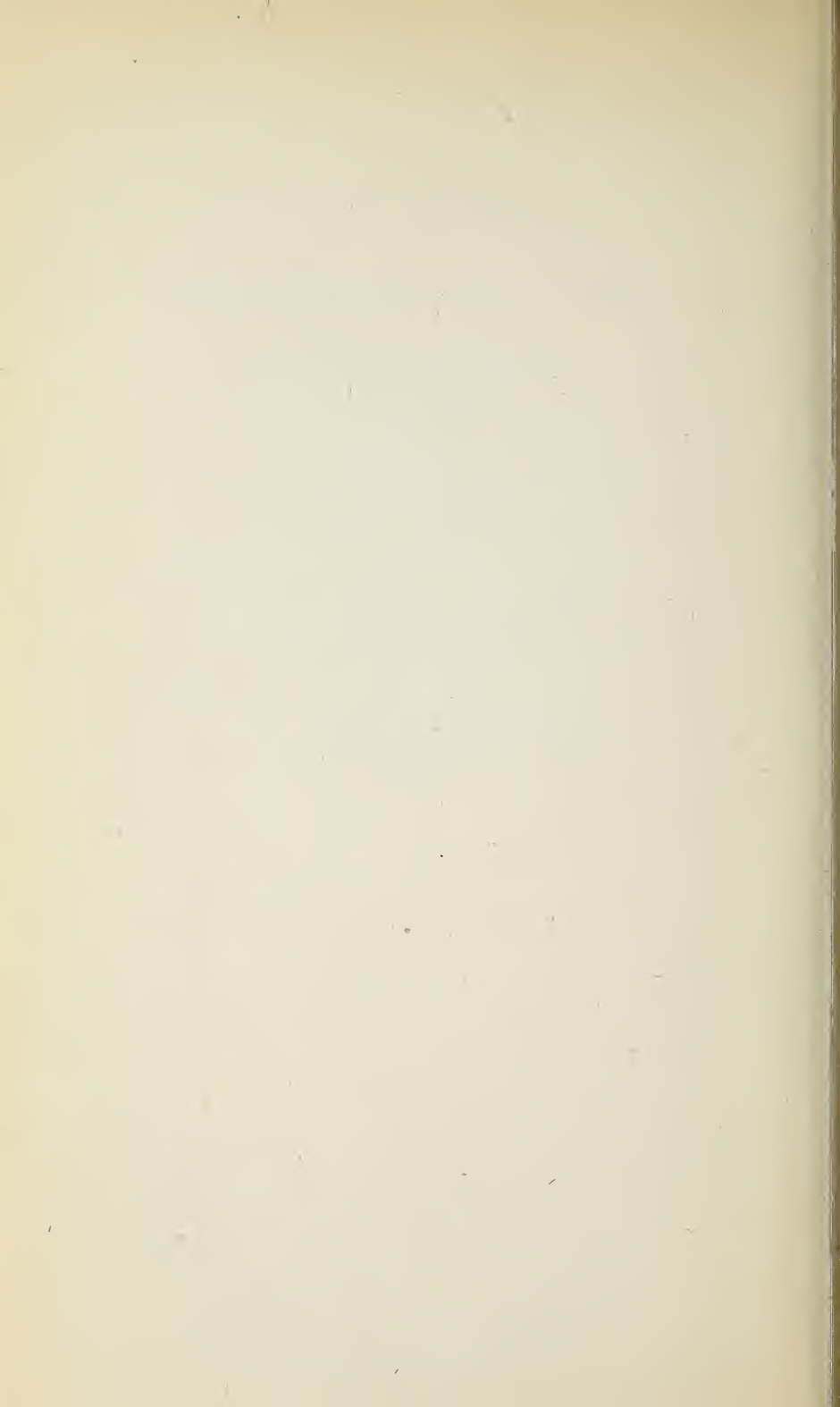
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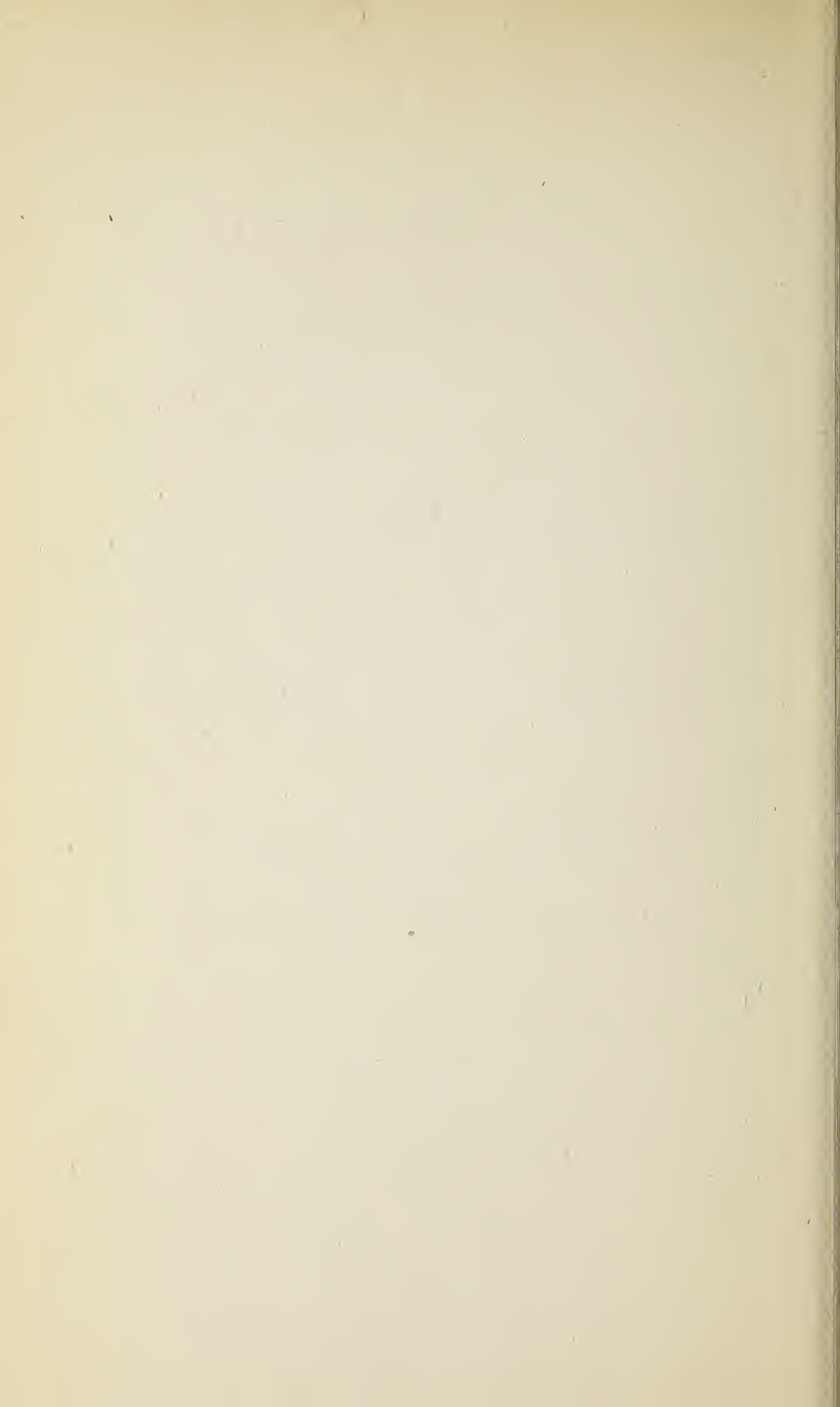


## LIST OF OFFICERS, 1943-1944

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>President</i> . . . . .  | ZELOTES W. COOMBS   |
| <i>Vice-presidents</i> . . . . .  | { EDWARD F. COFFIN<br>JOHN W. HIGGINS   |
| <i>Secretary</i> . . . . .  | NATHAN RICE   |
| <i>Treasurer</i> . . . . .  | DWIGHT S. PIERCE  |
| <i>Executive Board</i>  | { CHARLES E. AYERS<br>ALBERT FARNSWORTH<br>MISS ANNA T. MARBLE<br>MRS. CHARLES F. MORGAN<br>THEODORE H. NYE |
| The above-named officers and Chair-<br>man of Finance Committee, also . |   |
| <i>Finance Committee</i> . . . . .                                      | { CHANDLER BULLOCK<br>GEORGE R. STOBBS<br>EDGAR L. RAMSDELL   |

### *Executive Staff*

GEORGE I. CROSS, *Executive Director and Librarian*  
 KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant*  
*in Museum and Library*  
 WILLIAM J. WAITE, *Assistant to the Executive Director*



## FOREWORD

### THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1875

The purpose of this Society is to gather, preserve, and display for public benefit, historical material of all kinds, especially that relating to Worcester City and County.

In its Library may be found all the local histories available, and every effort is made to secure, preserve, and catalogue all articles dealing with any phase of Worcester history. Here will be found works by local authors, a well-organized collection of more than twenty thousand manuscripts, maps, broadsides, newspapers, and articles of historic interest. Much of this material is unique, of great importance, and irreplaceable.

The Museum supplements the Library in its collections, which contain thousands of objects and pictures of historical significance. Not a few are of general interest but, naturally, emphasis has been placed on what concerns Worcester especially, inventions, drawings, sketches, tools, toys, clothing, ornaments, home utensils, heirlooms, works of domestic utility, decoration, of art, of education from earliest times. And many of the articles in this Museum connote important steps in the progress of City and County, refer to disasters, bring back to modern times what our ancestors did, believed, hoped, to what they aspired, what they accomplished and, in many instances, what they attempted and failed to accomplish. Thus Museum and Library mark in definite steps the growth and development of City and County in influence, in population, in aspiration, in actual accomplishment.

The resources of the Museum and Library are in constant use, not only by the students of all grades in our local schools as well as those in the County, but by investigators from outside whose researches lead them hither. And the officers of the Society, together with the members of the staff, aim ever to cooperate to the limit in furthering the efforts of those who seek aid in the resources of the collections, always emphasizing, so far as they may, those lessons of fair play, of

forbearance, of mutual assistance and cooperation that have made not only our City and County great and prosperous but have contributed to the marvelous development of our nation.

The Society is supported by membership dues and the income from a comparatively small endowment fund. Receipts from these two sources always fall far short of meeting the increasing needs felt by the Society, needs which each year become more pressing. A strong appeal is made to all who are interested in helping this valuable work by taking out membership in the Society, by presenting to its Library or Museum, gifts of historical interest, or by gifts of money. And such members and donors may rest assured that their membership and gifts will count much in helping for future generations a most valuable work.

Gifts by will may be made in the following form:

I give the sum of.....Dollars to the Worcester  
Historical Society, of Worcester, Massachusetts.



## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Society has been brought face to face with war conditions this report year for the first time. While this world strife affects us all in many ways we on the executive staff have constantly before us the task of conservation as it bears on our light and heat. Care is used to keep our lighting down to a minimum. The heating problem causes us more concern. Under normal conditions it takes about 4000 gallons of fuel oil to heat the Society's rooms for the season and we divide this as nearly as possible into eight monthly installments running from September through April. This last winter was colder than usual and our allowance was cut about 1000 gallons, which created a real problem. To meet it we shut off all heat over week-ends when there was no danger of freezing, kept our normal museum temperature to 65°, and opened only to the public, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoons. As you know the monthly meetings were suspended during the winter. Even so we were forced to get an additional 500 gallons to get us through the season. Oddly enough our attendance figures fell off only 56 over the previous year's total, due partly perhaps to the number of visiting soldiers who seem to enjoy our displays.

The year as a whole has been a good one for the Society. The museum has been enriched by an unusual number of gifts, and the treasury by donations real and potential. One donation to petty cash of \$50.00 enabled us to purchase much needed supplies, to seed and plant the grounds and care for them, to have windows washed, and to do odd jobs about the building which would come under the heading of house cleaning. All of this without calling on the Treasurer.

The gift to the museum of a fine old grand piano of the Civil War period was accompanied by a substantial sum for its care and maintenance. By the will of Jeanie Lea Southwick the Society is to receive \$100,000 when her fortune shall have accumulated to that amount through investment. The late Miss Southwick was a good and dear friend of ours whose interest in our museum was unflagging during her active lifetime. Her case of Oriental miniatures as well as documents of earlier Worcester add to the richness of our displays.

The museum continues to grow. The Indian collection has been

enriched by the small case of artifacts which belonged to the late Dr. Baker. War relics continue to be received in number and variety. The children of Worcester's Civil War heroes are now widely scattered and of advanced age and they look to us to provide a final resting place for fathers' loved mementoes. So there has come to us a drum in fine condition whose inspiring beats aided the lagging feet of our men on that long, hot march to the field of Gettysburg. Antietam and Fredericksburg too are represented. From the Spanish war we have the West Point Diploma and other relics of the late Lieutenant Edmund Nathaniel Benchley, the only regular army officer from Worcester killed at San Juan Hill. A Malay Kriss testifies to our earlier struggles in the far Pacific, in which other Worcester boys participated. A group of shell cases remind us of the Argonne and St. Mihiel of World War number one. We solicit souvenirs of the present struggle and hope, when our boys return safely and victoriously from Berlin and Tokio, to add their contributions to our collection.

In glassware we have received among other gifts, a fine decanter of old Bohemian ware, once the property of the late Senator Hoar, two lovely Sandwich glass compotiers and a pair of purple hurricane lamps. These together with a small number of odd goblets are all from Miss Frances Healey, who gave also the large plate glass mirror now in the front hall. Among oddities is a woven glass fire engine of early design whose bright colors and unusual shape greatly intrigue the youngsters, and a cane taken from the hull of an American privateer sunk in the harbor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, in 1781. The late Mrs. Nellie B. Goffe has willed us her collection of antique lamps, syrup pitchers and cup plates. A careful selection from these items will add greatly to the beauty and uniqueness of the museum glassware now on display. So the museum expands until we are put to it at times to find place for our gifts. We greatly need more show-cases and fondly dream of the day when an addition can be put on the building.

Many of the good people of Worcester pass the doors of this building year after year without being aware of the collections contained in it. It takes the visit of an out-of-town group to make us realize how varied are the contents of the museum. This was brought forcibly to our mind this spring when we became hosts to the Bay State Historical League for its annual meeting. These good friends have high interest in things historical and a profound knowledge of Americana. Their enthusiasm was so great that along about seven-

thirty we were forced to call their attention to the fact that our closing hour normally was five o'clock. Their appreciation and interest were a real inspiration to us and we regretted that more of our own members were not present to share in their pleasure. As a testimony to the richness of our museum do you know of a sphere of activity indulged in by your forebears, evidences of which we have not on display? We have met this challenge time and again from hobbyists interested in special lines, we are proud to say.

We are called upon to do a variety of historical research usually upon something of local interest. The results of our labors are placed in the historical file for future reference. Just lately we have had demands for data regarding the Hessian prisoners who were held in Worcester County as a result of the battles of Bennington and Saratoga. It seems that many of these men settled here in this country and today their descendants, widely scattered, seek to learn more of their immediate ancestor. Naturally they look to us of Worcester to inform them from local sources. Lately, too, we have had the pleasure of getting together material on the Dummy Railroad which formerly ran from the city to Lake Quinsigamond, and which many of you will recall. Thus we accumulate sources of material which we find more and more use for, to answer the queries by our local school and college students. We request that you deposit with us the duplicate copies of any researches you may have made or copies of interesting material you may have accumulated.

Our visitors, despite the war, have not fallen off in numbers. Mature visitors, both local and out-of-town, always express their appreciation of what they see here, and frequently their astonishment at learning some of the facts about Worcester's greatness. The youngsters from school and club continue to use our "Treasure Hunts" with zest. They are as varied in background and as interesting as could be produced only by the people of a city with our heterogeneous population. The lessons in civic pride and love of country we seek to instil do not seem to repel them, to judge by the number who return again and again and the occasional letters we receive from old friends among them both at home and overseas.

The Society is fortunate in having its present President and Secretary both of whom visit the rooms frequently and who add to the comfort and joy of our official life. Our office clerk and museum assistant continue to give their loyal support.

If any of our good members have read this report to this point,

please realize that it is to you I am largely addressing these few words. It is you whose annual dues have kept this Society going and whose contributions have gradually built the museum to its present state. Yet of the three hundred odd active members comparatively few of you visit the museum. True, the more enthusiastic among you are likely to be present at the monthly meetings, nevertheless it is due to the contributions of all of you that we are able to keep going year after year, and I want you to feel that you are investing in an historical museum of high rank and that the work we do here in cultivating citizenship is very much worth while. And, yes, we are eternally grateful to all of you and do wish you would come and visit with us at your early pleasure.



## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Members of the Worcester Historical Society:

The Treasurer respectfully submits his report as of May 31, 1943.

The total income for the year amounted to \$2,722.18 and the total expenses were \$2,761.03, making a net loss of \$38.85. The total income for the year was \$31.95 less than last year, and the total expenses were \$74.65 more than last year.

Investment income this past year amounted to \$1,836.93, an increase of \$83.80. The trend, however, is downward. As bonds are called for payment or become due, the money received must be invested at lower rates under present conditions. Membership dues for the year amounted to \$779.00.

We are glad to report that no security owned by the Society is in default.

The customary check for \$100 was given to us by the Hester N. Wetherell Estate and was gratefully received. We were happy to receive a gift of \$2,000 from a friend of the Society, who requested that it be anonymous.

The treasury would be greatly helped if the members, through their personal contacts, would enlist new members in the work of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

DWIGHT S. PIERCE,

*Treasurer*

June 2, 1943



## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

During the past year, 1942-1943, the Worcester Historical Society has carried on in spite of handicaps imposed by lack of fuel and other hardships due to war conditions. It was matter of keen regret that the regular meetings, approximately once each month, must be given up but this course seemed necessary, especially because of limitations in the way of fuel. Speakers had been provided for each meeting, the papers had been prepared, and the subjects promised much of entertainment and instruction. Practically each of these papers involved a direct contribution to local history.

The Annual Colonial Dinner was held in October, according to custom, and proved most successful. The place was the Young Women's Christian Association headquarters, on Chatham Street. The attendance was unusually large, many of the guests appearing in the costumes of earlier days.

Although the regular monthly meetings of the Society were given up, owing to conditions noted above, the rooms have been open as usual afternoons, and the number of visitors has fully equalled that of former years, approximately 2200. Many of the visitors were young people, students in the Worcester educational institutions, and these younger visitors were welcomed with especial warmth by our staff, their many inquiries were answered, and every effort was made to encourage them in their researches in local history, also to repeat their visits, as many of them did.

The number of inquiries seeking information concerning Worcester and Worcester County exceeded that of any former year. Topics of a wide variety were included in these inquiries, historical, genealogical, topographical, geological, and these questions were answered by our staff or by members of the Society who were appealed to in so far as such answers could be found. And in many instances, when the answer was not within the province of staff or Society members, the inquirers were referred to authorities in city or county who could supply the answers. There is no question that, in years to come, the number of such inquiries is bound to increase, the value and resourcefulness of the collections of the Society and of the staff and members becoming more widely known and appreciated, with the passing of years. But

these inquiries, steadily increasing, in number as well as in intricacy of research, involve difficulties at present insurmountable in many cases. Staff and members of the Society are more than willing to cooperate but limitations of time, if no other reasons, preclude the intense and elaborate investigation that many of the inquiries demand. And rarely, if ever, are these inquiries, directed to the Society in perfectly good faith, accompanied by a tender of financial assistance to defray possible expense. By those of us who are interested in the resources of the Society and in the possibility it offers of help to such seekers after information, the hope is cherished that, at some not too distant date, the financial resources of the Society will warrant the employment of a full-time special investigator, who will be a regular member of our staff, and who will devote his or her time exclusively to such matters of research. With priceless records in the collections of the Society, it is a pity that limitations of assistance on the part of the present staff, limitations imposed by lack of time and pressure of regular duties, prevent the use to the fullest degree of these records and collections. And with lapse of time, as these records and collections steadily increase in value, such added assistance on the part of the staff becomes all the more necessary.

On the seventeenth of April our Society acted as host for the Spring Meeting of the Bay State Historical League, of which it is a member. Our rooms were open all day, serving as headquarters for the meeting, and receiving many visitors. The American Antiquarian Society and the Worcester Art Museum also cooperated in welcoming any visitors who might be interested in their special collections, as many proved themselves to be.

The chief event of the day was the luncheon at Hotel Bancroft, which was attended by 135 guests. In the several addresses at this luncheon many flattering comments were made by the speakers on our collections, on their value, also on their arrangement, these collections including our library.

The President of the Worcester Historical Society cannot too warmly express his appreciation of the work of the Museum staff, Executive Director Cross, ably assisted by Mrs. Cross, Mr. William J. Waite, and Miss Katherine Reid. The Society owes much to these faithful workers who are doing so much under conditions not always favorable.

For the coming year curtailment of activities will be necessary, as has been the case during the past year. The usual Fall dinner is

planned for late October or early November; the rooms will be open afternoons as usual, the members of the staff being present to guide and to assist. Thus the many visitors will be cared for. Moreover every effort will be made to answer the endless questions that are directed to the Society, these being cared for by the members of the staff, who are always free to invoke the assistance of the members of the Society, many of whom are especially well qualified to lend their assistance in such matters.

As during the year just past, the regular meetings of the Society will be given up during the year to come, the matter of heating the quarters of the Society for these monthly meetings proving too great a strain. The Annual Meeting to be held doubtless next June may be looked forward to as concluding the season of 1943-1944, the rooms of the Society remaining open afternoons as has been the custom for years.

The President cannot fail to note the bequest to the Society of \$100,000.00, in the will of Miss Jeanie Lea Southwick, who died earlier in the year. While the exact amount that may come to the Society under this bequest is uncertain, there is no doubt that it will be considerable. Such an addition to the endowment will make possible many lines of endeavor now out of the question because of lack of funds. Even better than this material view, however, is the feeling on the part of all interested in the welfare of the Society and in its future, that one good friend did not forget either the organization itself or its capabilities of service. To Miss Southwick and to her memory we of the Worcester Historical Society would pay the highest tribute.

## IN MEMORIAM FRANK COLEGROVE

Mr. Frank Colegrove, for many years a member and Librarian of this Society, died May 24, 1943.

Born in 1852, a descendant of Roger Williams and of Elder Brewster, he had spent many years as a teacher in the rural districts of West Virginia and of Illinois. He came to Worcester more than fifty years ago, and for thirty of these years was associated with the American Steel & Wire Company, of which he was a pensioner.

His work with this Society, as Librarian, was of the greatest value. He catalogued its books and manuscripts; he arranged its many objects of historical interest in its museum; he was constantly engaged in research and contributed many articles to its publications and papers to its meetings. Moreover, his pleasant personality, his profound knowledge of matters pertaining to Worcester history, impressed our many visitors and endeared him to them as well as to his fellow-workers.

All who knew him mourn his passing, but remember him with gratitude and appreciation, happy in the pleasant memories that remain, of a faithful worker, a firm and loyal friend, an upright Christian gentleman.

